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The Nation

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The Nation

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1918 No. 2771

The Week

THE announcement elsewhere in this issue of an International Relations Section of the *Nation* is an earnest of this journal's desire to make a larger contribution to the vexed problems of the war than has been possible in the past. The editors have no more ardent wish than to see the fourteen peace terms of Mr. Wilson, as they understand them, crown the military struggle, and they are profoundly concerned that in this critical year there should be so little support apparent in this country for some of the President's positions. The press of the country is chiefly concerned with the military advance, and seems to consider its duty done when it has demanded war until the capture of Berlin. Few editors appear to be thinking about the peace, its terms, and what is to follow. An enlightened public sentiment on foreign questions is one of the greatest needs of the United States to-day. The *Nation* accordingly proposes to furnish, so far as is possible, the bases for such a sentiment by giving to its readers, so far as its space will permit, enlightening documents and well-informed contributed articles. The point of view will be a liberal one, but the International Relations Section will not be in any sense propagandist. The *Nation* will continue to voice its opinions frankly and freely in its editorial columns; the new section will print the kind of facts intelligent and liberal-minded people ought to have in formulating their own views, and which they are either unable to obtain to-day in the daily press or else can obtain only in fragmentary or misleading form. This service the *Nation* will render free of additional charge to its readers; the increase in price scheduled for February 1 next is due to the startling increase in the cost of paper and of everything else which enters into the composition of a weekly journal.

AT last we have the President's decision as to intervention in Siberia. It is to be a very little one, and we are asked to forgive it or to give it approval on the ground of the littleness. There are to be a "few thousand troops" only, just enough to back up the Czecho-Slovaks and to protect the supplies at Vladivostok. In addition, American troops are reported to have been landed at Archangel. The Czecho-Slovaks, it now appears, are not after all to take ship at that port, but are to march some 7,000 miles back to the western front. As for the rest, it is a case of secret diplomacy and arrangement. Even the statement of our post-revolutionary relations with Russia is merely the registration of an accomplished fact. It gives no hint of the covenants, conversations, agreements, or compensations which underly the plan of intervention. It assumes that the public has no concern with processes, but only with results. The declaration of our unselfish intentions towards the internal affairs of Russia is as explicit and admirable as was Pitt's declaration towards the internal affairs of France in 1789, which, *absit omen*, he was forced shortly to swallow when he went to war with that country. It is gratifying also that Japan joins us in the most unequivocal declaration that it has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Russia or of taking a foot of her territory. Nevertheless, it is a most perilous undertaking to which we are now committed, one fraught with the greatest possible dangers. If the people of Russia cannot be made to understand our unselfish intentions, it may turn out that we have done the very thing we are seeking to prevent—turned Russia over to the Germans. As it is, there are well-informed Russians here, quite without sympathy with Lenine and Trotzky, who openly say that the presence of Japanese soldiers on Russian soil will inevitably mean hostilities, and perhaps even Russian soldiers under German officers on the western front within a year. Still, we now have a policy, such as it is. The period of indecision is over. Possibly truth may come more quickly, as Bacon says, even from error than from confusion.

GREAT BRITAIN is fully entitled to congratulate itself on its share in the transportation of American troops to France. The Controller of Shipping, Sir Joseph Maclay, a long interview with whom appears in the New York *Times* of August 4, draws an interesting parallel between present conditions and those which obtained at the time of the South African War. During the latter war, with the entire mercantile marine of the Empire to draw upon and no submarines to fear, about 300,000 British troops were moved. Of the more than 1,000,000 American soldiers who have now crossed the Atlantic, British ships have carried about sixty per cent. What is probably not generally realized is that, while this imposing movement has been going on, Great Britain has also been moving fresh troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and at the same time keeping its 7,000,000 men in all parts of the world supplied with munitions and food and transporting thousands of sick and wounded. Sir Joseph points out that this unprecedented demand upon British shipping has involved the withdrawal of ships from regular lines of trade with the colonies to such an extent as largely to put a stop, for the time being, to long-established trade with the overseas Dominions. It should be realized, too, that these great exertions cannot end merely with the safe transport of troops. Every man sent to France means the sending of at least five tons of stores in the course of a year. Sir Joseph Maclay's review does not, of course, describe in detail the work of the British navy. That story will be a thrilling one also when the time comes for telling it.

IS Mr. Lloyd George getting ready to declare for "war after the war"? His speech before the National Union of Manufacturers on July 31 suggests that perhaps he is. The whole tenor of his speech is to the effect that the Central Powers, in addition to being roundly beaten, are to be made to pay heavily for the injury they have done and the crimes they have committed. "We must be in a position," he is quoted as saying, "to determine the conditions which we regard as fair, without having them imposed upon us by the will of the enemy." If Germany wishes to escape severe punishment, she should hasten to make peace at once.

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"The longer the war lasts, the sterner must be the economic terms we impose on the foe." Mr. Lloyd George betrayed a little anxiety as to the attitude of the United States. "Up to the present time," he went on to say, "America has expressed no opinion" about the resolutions of the Paris Conference, "and it is vitally important that the policy of America and that of this country should be in complete agreement on economic as well as other problems." Mr. Lloyd George will have difficulty in discovering in any of President Wilson's utterances anything save a frank repudiation of the entire scheme of an economic war after the war. We have no doubt, however, especially in view of the recent recommendations of committees of the Board of Trade, that a good deal of pressure is being put upon Mr. Lloyd George's Government to give its approval, formally or informally, to the general policy of economic reprisal against the Central Powers. It is greatly to be hoped that he will not yield, not merely because of what we believe to be the fundamental unwisdom of such a policy on broad economic grounds, but also because of its inevitable tendency to provoke a renewal of war.

LORD LANSDOWNE'S renewed plea for a revised statement by the Allies of their war aims and terms of peace seems likely to share the fate of his earlier appeal. There will be the usual sneering references, such as Professor William Stearns Davis, of the University of Minnesota, made a few weeks ago in a letter to the London *Nation*, to the "noble marquises who seem very anxious to make peace in order to secure their ancestral acres," and hackneyed allusions to pacifists, pro-Germans, and peace-at-any-price intriguers. It is worth while remembering, nevertheless, in this connection, that Lord Lansdowne is not an inconspicuous person. He has been Viceroy of India and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in addition to holding other high offices. Neither is he a pacifist. What he complains about is the progressive impairment of the high ideals with which the war began on the part of the Allies, and the evidences of a growing determination on the part of the Allied Governments to discount every suggestion of peace in advance and push the war to the bitter end. Nor does he stand alone. At the meeting at which his letter was read, Earl Beauchamp presided, a sympathetic letter was read from Mr. Arthur Henderson, the secretary of the British Labor party, and Lord Buckmaster, a Liberal, spoke. When leaders representing such opposing political views as those of Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Henderson agree in calling for a restatement of war aims, it ought to be clear that the demand has weighty support in the country. Mr. Balfour has recently declared that Great Britain is willing to discuss "a fair, just, and honest peace at any time it is seriously proposed." If that is the case, we may be sure that Allied diplomacy has sufficient skill to bring such a proposal about whenever it feels that the time is ripe for doing so.

PRESS dispatches report a serious labor situation in Switzerland, where the labor organizations and the Federal Government appear to be at loggerheads. The Swiss Workingmen's Congress, representing the Railway Men's Union, with 16,000 members, and the Federation of Officials and Employees in the various Federal departments, with upwards of 60,000 members, recently presented to the Government a list of demands which included the grant of a shorter working day, the fixing of wages by a special bureau, better provision of food for the working classes, and suitable allowances to meet the increased cost of living and, in the case of Federal employees, to permit the accumulation of a winter supply of fuel and food. The demands also insisted upon the abolition of present restrictions upon the holding of meetings, and the withdrawal of the Government decree closing the frontier to foreign deserters and absentees. The reply of the Government has been voted unacceptable by the congress, and a general strike is threatened if the concessions asked for are not granted. The burden of the war rests with peculiar weight upon Switzerland. Not only has the country been obliged to suffer from the inevitable interference with its trade, the limitation of its coal supply, and the cutting down of its food, but it has also been compelled to guard its border against the Allies as well as against the Central Powers. It is only a few months since the Federal Government was reported to have made a formal representation to the Allies and the United States against what was alleged to be a threatened encroachment upon its territory, and to have followed this with a specification of several hundred alleged violations of its neutrality. In a country which stands ready to protect its neutral rights by force of arms, a general strike which involved Government employees would be peculiarly grievous.

A REMARKABLE experiment in governmental control was begun last week when the Department of Labor took over all the unskilled laborers in the country under a rationing system. It is now unlawful for any one employing more than a hundred workmen to advertise for or otherwise solicit such labor into his employ, except through agencies of the Department. The intention is to divert the supply of labor from non-essential to essential industries, and also to overcome the loss of energy due to a large labor turnover. The War Labor Policies Board is at work on a plan for the standardization of wages, the Government having evidently taken note of the causal relation between wages and high prices. It is hinted that the scope of these measures will be extended to include skilled labor, but this is doubtful. Skilled labor is so necessary to the Government's purposes now that it must be permitted very largely to have its own way. In fact, the present arrangement is, strictly speaking, an extension of privilege. There are in round numbers 30,000,000 laborers in the country, of whom about 3,000,000 may be classed as skilled. The Government now virtually subsidizes the 3,000,000 in return for permission to mobilize and control the 27,000,000. The accession of 3,000,000 laborers to the privileged class is an event that deserves notice from all who are interested in either the theory or the practical organization of the state. Admitting the purely temporary and provisional character of the arrangement, the plan nevertheless seems likely to work out fairly well. It may furnish, among other benefits, some needed popular instruction about the difference between real and apparent wages. The chief hardship seems to fall on the individual employer in a non-essential industry. By a curious turn of fortune, however, he no longer seems to count heavily. We can all remember when we were proud of him and made his thrifty energy and self-reliance the theme of admonition to school children, but no one has a good word for him now.

AS good a piece of news as any in this week's domestic budget is that the President is about to appoint a com-

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mission to investigate the conditions of labor in Porto Rico. The assumption by the United States of responsibility abroad has automatically increased the sense of responsibility for such a state of things at home as will square with our pretensions, and Porto Rico is the place, probably, where our ideals are least visible. The special agent of the Department of Labor, Mr. F. C. Roberts, writes to Mr. Gompers:

> Half the truth has never been told about the real conditions of the working people of this island. In the midst of fabulous wealth on every side, there are thousands of men and women slowly starving to death. No one can describe the pitiable conditions of these poor people, while it is generally conceded that this year was the banner year for the employers. No doubt some of them will clear more than 65 per cent., still they could not afford to increase the wage of the men who created their wealth.

It is pointed out by the trade unionists and by disinterested observers that workmen have been denied due process of law, and that strikers have been clubbed and jailed in the old familiar fashion. In the fiscal year 1917–18 the total trade of Porto Rico amounted to $160,516,141, with a daily wage rate of $1 for skilled labor and 60 cents for unskilled; whereas ten years ago the total trade amounted to only $17,502,103, with wages averaging 95 cents for skilled and 45 cents for unskilled labor. It is to be hoped that the President's commission will have something to say about land ownership in the island, and how that ownership is related to the immense industrial exploitation that prevails there. We are learning something about those relations in the Mexico of Don Porfirio's day, and the historical work of the Hammonds on the agricultural laborer has shown them in a still earlier day in England. In size, isolation, character of population and of industry, Porto Rico appears to us able to furnish uncommonly good substance for such a study, and we trust the opportunity may not be neglected.

THE sale of the New York *Evening Post* to Thomas W. Lamont ends an ownership of thirty-seven years by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Villard and their son, Oswald Garrison Villard, and completes the separation of the *Nation* from that newspaper. Mr. Lamont, because of his Wall Street connections, has imitated Mr. Henry Villard in appointing three trustees to hold his stock and in pledging independent editorial control to Mr. Rollo Ogden and his present editorial associates, with the exception, of course, of Mr. Oswald Villard. This insures the permanence of the *Evening Post* as an institution, for, besides being rich, Mr. Lamont is a man of journalistic ideals who worked his way through Harvard College by corresponding for newspapers, and subsequently served for more than two years on the staff of the New York *Tribune*. Of his three trustees, Theodore N. Vail is president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Henry S. Pritchett is president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and Ellery Sedgwick is the remarkably able and successful editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. We trust the public will accept this arrangement as insuring complete control to the editors, for it may rely upon Mr. Ogden's retiring promptly in the entirely unlikely event of his prerogatives being infringed upon. We believe that time will show that Mr. Lamont has rendered a public service in preserving the high journalistic and news standards of this historic daily, whatever may prove to be the future policy of its editorial page. Never was there a greater opportunity or greater need for an American *Manchester Guardian*.

THAT the ownership of American newspapers is coming to be more and more the privilege of very rich men is one of the disturbing signs of the times. When such men show Mr. Lamont's generosity and wisdom, the situation is at its best; when they control as basely as Mr. Hearst, we are face to face with a grave public menace. The existing war conditions are intensifying the trend in this direction. The American newspaper is now engaged in a mad race to make its revenue keep up with its enormous expenditures, hourly increasing because of the rising cost of paper and labor. Various kinds of advertising, such as railroad and steamship announcements, have ceased, and in a number of fields, like automobiles, finance, and summer resorts, the war has cut advertising heavily. More than that, the newspapers are facing an actual decrease in the amount of paper they can obtain. As a result of all this, only five newspapers in Greater New York are to-day believed to be making money. If the war lasts, there will be many wrecks and many consolidations. The disappearance of some newspapers is not so serious as is the question how free from class influences those that survive will be and how liberal and progressive their editors will remain. Even if editors have complete control, it by no means follows that they will take the broad and forward-looking views the public longs for and, alas! in large degree, feels that it is not getting in most editorial pages. The opportunity for real leadership in the editorial field is to-day very great.

WITH the baseball season threatening an untimely close, with the proposed changes in the draft law indicating inability on the part of our institutions of higher learning to put forth football and minor sports teams in the fall and winter months, our thoughts turn to speculation concerning the precise significance of the loss to the public of that diversion which athletic contests have implied. In war time, say the proponents of organized baseball, the public need diversion; it is to be obtained at the league ball parks. And so with football and basketball and other sports which have annually enlisted the interest and inspired the enthusiasm of thousands of those who have not outgrown the interests of their college days. There is no doubt at all about the element of diversion—it is real, tangible. What may concern us, therefore, is the essential quality of that diversion, or lack thereof. President Wilson's attitude was definitely set forth in his letter written in May of 1917, in which he advocated the retention of intercollegiate sport by our seats of learning, not to afford a diversion to the American people in the dark days to come, but as a real contribution to America's defence through the correlation of physical development and mental quickness in action. In other words, the President holds no brief for sport as a diversion. And neither may we. For when we really look seriously into the matter, we are struck by the small number of citizens in comparison to various urban populations who patronize league baseball or college contests. The bulk of our people have resources within themselves individually or in groups for such relaxation and diverting influences as they need; and even if they have not, a little more in the way of personal sacrifice can be nothing but wholesome, bringing home to many who otherwise might not feel it what a fearful thing war is in all its manifestation.

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The Great Military Progress

EACH day of the past week has brought out more clearly the extent of the German defeat, even though it also made it evident that the German morale has not yet been destroyed, that the army of the Crown Prince is in no danger of capture, and that it has all in all been executing a masterly retreat. But even from German sources of the highest importance we have confession of defeat—minimized, of course, but none the less confession. Thus, Ludendorff explains that "the enemy evaded us on July 15." Nevertheless, the eluding Allies have pressed so hard upon his flanks that he has now had to give up all the territory taken in the fifth offensive, besides much that was conquered in the third, while at this writing it is by no means certain that he will be able to stand behind the Vesle River. It is quite possible that he must surrender everything beyond the old bloody Chemin des Dames, from which he debouched on the 27th of May. Indeed, there are signs that he must retire far to the west even in the Montdidier section itself. What effect all this must have upon a depressed and half-starved Germany cannot be overestimated. The German public knows now that Paris is for the moment no longer menaced; that the fifth great German offensive has been so disastrous a failure that, three weeks after its beginning, it is not yet plain where the limits of the German retirement are to be. A menacing German advance has been turned into a costly retreat—not a disastrous one, but one that has none the less taken a terrible toll in booty and prisoners, not to speak of the loss of life.

To say that Foch had planned for precisely what has happened is, of course, not warranted. It is a characteristic of both the offence and the defence in this modern warfare that no general can foresee just what is going to take place. The Germans in their offensives have struck at the points they deemed weakest and then have exerted themselves to take advantage of the break wherever the advantage developed. Neither Ludendorff nor Hindenburg has gone ahead precisely according to plan. They could not tell that the Fifth British Army would give way as it did on March 21; in fact, the unexpected counts more than ever. Doubtless General Foch's chief concern was to protect Paris and hold the Germans at the Marne and in the Château-Thierry district. What has happened since has been more or less accidental, though this in no wise detracts from the great praise Foch has earned. As a result of steady counter-attacking the Germans have yielded ground without fighting anything more than successful rear-guard actions, both Ludendorff and Hindenburg boasting that by their Fabian policy they have withdrawn their troops from a dangerous salient with a minimum loss of life. Even to-day, we are sure General Foch cannot estimate the complete extent of the victory which has come to him. The outstanding fact is that the Marne salient has been abolished.

The progress of the week is easy to recount. On Tuesday there was fighting in the outskirts of Fère-en-Tardenois and Ville-en-Tardenois and at St. Euphraise. On Wednesday there was a lull, except for hard fighting by Americans about Seringes and Sergy; the battle for that day seems to have been limited to heavy artillery combats. On Thursday it was announced that the total number of German prisoners had reached 32,400, and that the Allies had advanced well to the northeast of Fère, taking Courdoux, Servenay, and Cramoiselles, thus compelling the evacuation of Fère. The next day the Germans abandoned Soissons and the whole of the Chaudun plateau between the Coeuvres and the Crise valleys, the Allies gaining from three to five miles on the whole salient. By that time it was certain that the battle was practically over and that the German withdrawal could probably be effected with safety. On Saturday, however, the retirement was even more speedy, the Americans taking Fismes and the Germans falling back to the Vesle. More than fifty villages were retaken on this day, and the advance at certain points measured seven miles. On Sunday the Vesle was reached to the east of Fismes, and the news came that the Germans were retreating on the left bank of the Ardre River, northwest of Montdidier, on a front five miles in extent—a piece of news from another portion of the battle line which may foreshadow startling events in that quarter before this issue of the *Nation* is in the hands of its readers.

Magnificent as all this is, it is still necessary to sound a warning against over-confidence. The man in the street is already taking it for granted that the war is practically over; that the Americans, having fought a victorious rear-guard battle with the Prussian Guards, are now certain to keep on as they have begun. It is true that in France the unexpected victory, together with the heartening influence of our own American troops and their brilliant successes, has brought about a general rejoicing. But the French have been also among the first to tell us that the war is not won, or nearly won, unless it should prove that food conditions in Germany have reached a point where the suffering can no longer be endured. If the German people can hold out and the army settles down again to trench warfare, with possibly one more offensive before the fighting season is over, we may see months more of the discouraging "war of position." Even if the Germans retire to the Chemin des Dames, they would still be in a position to strike at Paris and bombard the city with their long-range guns. So far as territory is concerned, they wouuld be no worse off than they were on the 27th of May. In a sense, Ludendorff is right in saying that the words "gain of ground" and "Marne" are only "catch words." The important thing is the effect of the disastrous outcome of the fifth offensive upon the morale and the psychology of both the German army and the German people, and the injury that has been wrought there ought to be enough to satisfy the most ardent without giving rise to undue confidence that the end of the struggle is close at hand.

We are still of the belief that the Germans must strike again. If the end of the summer comes with no further German gains, the military group in Berlin will be hard put to it to maintain its present supremacy. The liberal voices now hushed will be once more raised, and the demand for peace will become still louder. It is all very well to talk about nations fighting to the last gasp and the last man. As a matter of fact, they do nothing of the kind. There were a good many men and a great deal of food left in the Confederacy when the breakdown of its morale and its lines of transportation compelled the surrender at Appomattox. It is psychology and courage that count. The German General Staff knows this as well as anybody, and it knows that it must before long retrieve this disaster in some way if it is to keep the German people in leash. It will be well to be on the lookout for another drive, this time very possibly in the north, before the summer passes.

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The Hamstrung Postal Service

ONE of the abundant mysteries that form the halo of the officeholder is that the Postmaster-General should choose the present as a fitting time to introduce cheese-paring economies into his department to the detriment of the service. No doubt there are æsthetic and literary interests that would be promoted by reducing our postal efficiency. It has long been a pet notion of ours that if American cities had only one mail a week and first-class postage cost twenty-five cents, correspondents would have time to follow the instinct for perfection and letter-writing would perhaps in time take its old place among the arts. No one is before us in enthusiasm for these ends or in willingness to do everything for them at an appropriate time. If the country were at peace, we should be glad to sympathize with Mr. Burleson's practical disposition towards a purer literature. But the country is at war, and war demands every possible facility of communication. There is perhaps no clearly graduated scale of importance in war-time functions, but it is probable that the quick and frequent transportation of mail counts as much in the sum total as the quick and frequent transportation of fuel or munitions. Under these circumstances, with so many activities of the human spirit retarded or suspended in behalf of fighting efficiency, we must with great regret register our difference with Mr. Burleson and insist that literature shall bear its burden with the rest. Notwithstanding our devotion to the practice of literature, we cannot accept an indirect exemption for it, or even a sort of deferred classification, at the indulgent hands of the Postmaster-General. We are grateful to him, of course, but in insisting upon the restoration of efficiency in the postal service, we are merely insisting that sacrifice must be, as far as possible, impartially distributed.

From the point of view of the business man, the postal breakdown, especially in New York, is an exasperating and expensive nuisance. The local difficulties of New York are of general interest only in so far as the New York Post Office is a part of the general system of mail-carrying. A great deal of mail for other parts of the country originates here, and the city is an important distributing point for through mails in transit. The character of this through service, therefore, can be somewhat gauged by that of the local service. A few examples will suffice. According to evidence submitted to the Merchants' Association, which is taking a lively interest in this matter, a letter posted by special delivery on 125th Street, New York, between six and seven o'clock in the afternoon of July 14, was not delivered at the address on lower Fifth Avenue until twenty minutes after five the next afternoon. Another letter posted at 5:30 P. M. on July 15 at 43d Street was delivered at 115 Broadway at 9:00 A. M. on the 17th. This letter bore the postmark of July 16, 3:00 P. M. Still another letter posted at West New Brighton, in the Borough of Richmond, on July 16 was not delivered in Manhattan until the 19th.

The Merchants' Association also gives some details of interurban service. Letters posted in Philadelphia at 6:00 P. M. are delivered in New York at 11:15 A. M. the next day. Mail must be posted in Buffalo before 2:00 P. M. if delivery in New York the following day is to be assured. A letter posted in Washington required 39½ hours for delivery in New York; a piece of second-class matter required 129 hours. Letters between New York and Havana, Cuba, take as a rule between twelve and fourteen days. This is the testimony of a responsible exporting house, which adds that "as an evidence that it is possible for mail to go through quicker, our Havana house advises they received a large envelope mailed from the American Colortype Company of New York City on June 21 in five days; that is, they received it in Havana on June 26."

A great deal of the local havoc with first-class mail is due to Mr. Burleson's decision to do away with the pneumatic tubes—a decision which may be delicately and perhaps sufficiently termed unfortunate, with due regard to the immense volume of more robust opinion expressed by the tired business man who has not the fear of the Sedition act before his eyes. On the score of economy, the Postmaster-General prefers motor trucks; and here we go back to the line we drew between war and peace. In time of peace, we agree, motor trucks are economical. They economize everything, perhaps, except time, patience, labor, industrial efficiency, and such odds and ends of money as the American people have devoted to commerce and trade. All outside these little items probably represents clear gain. One may wonder, indeed, why the Postmaster-General might not go further, while he is about it, and extend the application of his principle of economy to its logical length. It was this obvious exercise of imagination on the part of our old friend Colonel Harvey that brought out his delightful picture of long lines of mule teams carrying the mail up Broadway from the Post Office to the Grand Central Terminal, "with occasional pauses for objurgation," and consuming as much as three or three and a half hours on the way. We agree with Colonel Harvey that if the Postmaster-General's theory of economy is admitted at all, it should be allowed and even encouraged to the freest and fullest development. But notwithstanding our devotion to this principle and our appreciation of the collateral benefits that we have mentioned as accruing to our favorite pursuits, we must resolutely remind ourselves that the country is at war, that promptness and energy are at a premium, and that any interference with communication, any failure to expedite communication to the utmost, is an interference with the effective prosecution of the war. We may not, probably, expostulate with Mr. Burleson himself without some sacrifice of delicacy; but we may perhaps be permitted to use the freemasonry of fellow-journalists in suggesting to Colonel Harvey that his enthusiasm has a halo of gravity about it that in a time of less general constraint it might not have.

Our contemporary *Life*, which always has a watchful eye out for everything that affects the progress of the war, rather despondently asks whether there is any crime or any stupidity that Mr. Burleson could commit which would cause the President to remove him. The question, in view of Mr. Burleson's political standing, is perhaps not without interest, but we do not think it is one to be insisted on. Rather, we would ask whether the Postmaster-General may not have too much to do. Many new duties have come upon him lately, and their conscientious administration demands absorbing labor. Under their pressure, no doubt from sheer weariness, Mr. Burleson may have lost sight for the moment of the fact that the first business of the Post Office Department is to expedite the mails. We suggest that he be relieved of these new duties and permitted to give his undivided attention to the restoration of a system that appears not only badly broken down, but on its way from bad to worse.

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The Ministry of Hate

The temptation is strong to preach a sermon on the impropriety of ministers, when they are ministers, engaging in any speculative business where the speculation is to be carried on with the money of others who entrust their earnings and savings to a minister because he is a minister.

THUS the referee in the unsavory Hillis-Ferguson financial controversy comments on the extraordinary speculations of the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis in the decision which practically ends that battle in the courts. The referee, in finding for the plaintiff, Dr. Hillis, declared that "no amount of wrongdoing on the part of the plaintiff to those dealing with him and buying timber of him, no amount of misrepresentation by him, if there was such, would in any way justify, excuse, or palliate a breach of trust on the part of the defendant . . ." Mr. Dickey also dwelt upon the fact that Dr. Hillis, with a capital of $5,000 and expectations of a salary of $8,000 as pastor of Plymouth Church and of $8,000 as orator and lecturer, "engaged in wild speculations and purchasings and sales of virgin Canadian timber lands on Vancouver Island, B. C., and elsewhere, amounting to several billions of feet and representing more than $1,000,000 in cost."

We submit that this decision in favor of Dr. Hillis is so damning as to call for his immediate retirement from preaching. The rôle of a common speculator in timber and that of a disciple of Jesus are a trifle too inconsistent to be stomached, even in these days of lowered standards. But it is particularly repulsive because this same man has probably done more to preach the doctrine of bitterness and hate than any other minister in America since we got into the war, unless it be the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Eaton. A vivid poster circulated throughout the country represents Dr. Hillis in the attitude of a prophet of divine wrath and in the robes of a Doctor of Divinity against the background of a burning cathedral. Some copies of it are still in evidence in New York, advertising Dr. Hillis's "German Atrocities" (price one dollar). Dr. Hillis has gone from coast to coast on the assumption that the American people would make this war their own only if the basest of their passions were appealed to. The *Nation* is informed that some of the pictures exhibited by him on his tours have gone quite beyond ordinary limits; that women have fainted at sight of them, and men raved. And to this was added the incitement of this eloquent clergyman to his listeners to go forth with blood in their vision, if not murder in their hearts.

We have no such low opinion of the American people as to believe that any teaching of hate and vengeance was necessary. Those Americans who favor our participation in the war think, nine-tenths of them at least, that we have a hard enough job to do in disarming a nation gone mad, and that we ought to do it in as clean and decent a manner as possible. No dwelling upon the beastliness of an uncontrolled soldiery is needed to induce young Americans to do their military duty as they see it, and there is certainly nothing to be gained by dwelling in the presence of civilian audiences upon the horrors which we know to have been committed. Not because any one, least of all the *Nation*, has any desire to shield the Germans from the consequences of their wrongdoing; for that they must pay the price in the world's court of morals for at least a generation to come. The point we make is simply that this campaign of hate and vengeance which Dr. Hillis has carried on was directly contrary to the injunctions of President Wilson on our entering the war, and to his repeated admonitions that we should not lower ourselves to the Prussian level by letting passion and hate run away with us. More than that, Dr. Hillis's campaign, unbecoming as it would have been for any clergyman, becomes doubly so when one reads the referee's decision in his favor. Dr. Hillis's record as a speculator scarcely qualifies him as the most appropriate judge for passing upon the wrongdoing of a nation; perhaps he may even at the eleventh hour spare us the humiliation of his departure for Europe as a sort of religious ambassador from America.

Hate is always a destructive passion, and when that passion is aroused, it does not readily die. To-day even the children in our schools are taught to hate the enemy whom ministers of Christ consign to an everlasting hell with a glibness that makes one wonder whether they are trying to prove the correctness of certain Freudian theories of suppressed emotions. To preach hate and vengeance as these men do is to frustrate every hope for a world made new, to deny the religion of Jesus, and to forget that vengeance is the Lord's. At the heart of our Gospel has been the faith in everlasting mercy, and in the possibility of forgiveness and of a clean heart for the vilest sinner. This was consistent with the keenest sense of wrong and the sternest judgment of sin. In the years to come, humanity will look back with warmer admiration not to the preachers of wrath, but to the soldiers of righteousness who in the midst of the conflict still held their souls as Abraham Lincoln did his, "with malice towards none, with charity for all." Only in this spirit will Prussianism be cast out at home and abroad.

The New Individualism

INDIVIDUALISM has acquired a bad name because it has been used to describe an economic system which was in some particulars anything but a protector of individual rights. It may be taken to represent in reality a kind of spiritual elbow-room—space in which to grow, feel, and think, without an excessive burden of laws and conventions. Its opposite is the domination of the individual by a numerical majority, by a crowd motive, or by inherited traditions, which in actual operation are merely the rule of the old over the young. In this sense individualism is a thing hoped for rather than a fact in history. Yet the period which began about the time of the Italian renaissance and ended with the present war may be described as a constant striving for individual liberty in the presence of a friendly audience. An overwhelming proportion of the literature of the past five hundred years is devoted to a sympathetic account of the struggles of individuals to escape from the prison of family and tradition. From Aucassin and Nicolette to Jude the Obscure there runs the strain of rebellion against hampering social circumstances. In different ages different repressions arouse resentment, but the current of individualistic protest flows on.

The nineteenth century was a period of individualistic liberty and achievement unparalleled in history, and it is evident now that it ended in disillusionment. The individual convulsed the religious and social framework of society; he created modern nations; he evolved industrialism; yet even before the Germans crossed the frontier into Belgium

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he was beginning to wane. The world was facing a period of perhaps not unwholesome discipline. But the war added so much strength to the movement already under way as to expose the individual to the danger of being submerged completely.

The changes wrought in the United States since April, 1917, have had their romantic and beautiful side. Out of our scrambling anarchy there is developing a passionate enthusiasm for flinging life away, not only for the sake of a great cause, but for the sake of the thrill of the act of sacrifice. The latter motive is not an empty or a futile thing. The capacity to make sacrifices independent of a coldly intellectual appreciation of the adaptation of the means to the end is a quality that could not well be spared from human life. Balaklava was not wholly a blunder, the charge of Margueritte's cavalry at Sedan not in all respects a crime. Bodies of men often perform actions from which the common-sense of individuals would have shrunk, but what group action gains in force it loses in clearness.

Is it wise, then, to rely on group impulses for a solution of the present world problem? That depends on whether the problem is a simple one in which the principal part is played by will, or a complex one which cannot be adjusted satisfactorily except by a study of matter-of-fact details. The delicate question of national loyalty shows that it is not simple. National loyalty, emotionally considered, is a noble and adequate mass impulse, but intellectually it is not a permanently and universally acceptable standard. Loyalty is indisputably useful in strengthening the Allies in their fight against German tyranny; no less indisputably, the national loyalty of the Germans is a menace to the world in strengthening them to support their present Government. We welcome disloyalty in Germany because we feel that the Government of Germany is wrong, and that its enemies, whether domestic or foreign, are right. But this can be justifiable only upon the supposition that national loyalty is conditional upon national integrity, and that the individual does not owe unqualified allegiance to an unrighteous Government. Yet we act as though a changed world could be created by drawing upon the reservoirs of a blind, provincial faith to establish a league of justice.

Thus there appears on the one hand a conception of a world organization, formed, irrespective of tradition, upon the basis indicated by accurate knowledge as most apt to keep peace and secure justice, and on the other hand reliance upon group emotions and distrust of intellect as a means of realizing this conception. If conservative officialdom and the conservative press had their way, the war for internationalism would be regarded by the public as if it were one for national glory. The old emotions must be adapted to a new world. The psychology of nations as well as the system of international government must be revolutionized. A broader loyalty, for which revolutions rather than dynastic wars set the pattern, must be created, and this is possible only on condition that the intellect of the nations shall be set free. Upon the survival, or revival, of freedom to think, to discuss, to publish, and to differ with the majority or with the Government depends the degree of intellect that can be concentrated upon the problems to come; and upon that depends the fate of mankind. For this reason we must learn to have due regard for the meditations of the private intellect and the dictates of the individual conscience. In the present passion for conformity it cannot be said that either is highly respected.

On the Watch Tower

AMSTERDAM, July 22.—Emperor William, who, according to his favorite correspondent, Karl Rosner, watched the battle of Rheims from a tower which gave him a good view of a wide sector of the front, sent to his troops from this vantage point, Rosner reports, the following telegram: "His Majesty informs his troops that he has arrived behind the front of the attack, and will watch the battle from a tower. His Majesty's good wishes accompany his troops. His Majesty's word to his troops is: 'With God for the Emperor and the Empire.'"

LIKE the great figure of Germania in the Niederwald above the Rhine, the Kaiser doubtless pictured himself as he stood there and doubtless so seemed to the servile scribe who gives us this picture of how they watched, gazing out over the battlefield—safe from any errant shell. "With God for the Emperor and the Empire!" Not for righteousness, nor for truth, nor justice, nor humanity, nor for civilization, not even for German Kultur, but for Emperor and Empire. Die that the Hohenzollerns may rule and an obsolete, undemocratic, autocratic Government survive! This the imperious message for the cannon fodder so obedient to the imperial will because of the carefully woven web of loyal patriotism for the Crown by which it is ensnared.

So the pawns read the message, and went out to their doom at the hands of the fresh young spirits from beyond seas and the war-worn men of France who have borne the battling with a sounder philosophy than all the rest. For Emperor and Empire they advanced, only to have to retire, and to retire after useless losses back to and beyond the ruins of the very tower upon which the Kaiser and his journalistic Boswell stood and bade them fight for him. But the Kaiser was not there; long before the tide turned he fled to safety, doubtless to delude anew by extolling the wisdom of this marvellous, strategic retreat executed for the Emperor and the Empire. A Napoleon might stand and watch the beaten and battered wreckage of his Old Guard drift by him, tasting the dregs of defeat. Wilhelm never!

Yet for him there must be the watch tower of the night, the hour when no Rosner and no Hindenburg and no Ludendorff are there to cheer, to flatter, to plot away the lives of millions, the "very witching time of night, when churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out." What then? Does he write dispatches at that hour for Emperor and Empire? Then must ghostly legions pass by him in never-ending review,

> Or else the wonderful Dead who have passed through the body and gone
> But were back once more to breathe in an old world worth their new.

Surely this restless, unhappy bedside is visited, at least in thought, by the bereaved of every household in Germany—and there is none that is not bereaved. And when they are not there with anguished eyes, what pictures of the future present themselves? Is that St. Helena? Shall he walk the decks of a British frigate and see forever fade from his sight the shores of Europe? And what of the coming dawn at home? Will the streets of Berlin run blood and the populace, without bread, refuse to eat cake for the Emperor and the Empire? What fearful vision is this of poor "Nicky" of Russia fainting before the firing squad of his own peasants? The morning light at last? Then up once more, but no more watch towers, no more messages to troops going forth to defeat.

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The Food Administration

By VERNON KELLOGG

WITH the beginning of the war promptly began governmental food administration. It began in Belgium with a decree of the King authorizing the provincial governors and the city burgomasters to take over certain available food stocks for equitable distribution. It began in England under the direction of the Government Board of Trade; in France and Italy under the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. There was little discussion of its advisability; it was recognized as necessary. Germany had the first real food controller or dictator; the Allied countries quickly followed with special ministries and officials of similar character.

Germany was eighty per cent. self-sustaining as to food; the Western Allies taken together were much less than that. But countries at war tend to decrease their food production and increase their food consumption. The ratios of peace time change quickly when war comes, and the fighting countries of Europe found themselves at once face to face with the pressing problem of food. They attempted its solution by food administration, or, to use the shorter and more significant word, food control.

The United States was not at war in those first days; not, indeed, until nearly three years after the beginning of the world convulsion. But her food problem began even before she came in. It began because the Western Allies turned as one family to the great food-producing neighbor across the sea for succor. She was the nearest and most abundantly provided of all overseas sources of supply. A wild period of food demands, food purchases, and food exportation set in, with each year, each month, almost, seeing this abstraction of food from us grow larger and more serious in immediate consequence and future significance. The principal obvious immediate results were a sky-rocketing of prices of all exportable foods, and the gaining of enormous profits by all food-handlers. But as a free and individualistic people we held to our political traditions, and as a nation complacently sat and watched the situation, while as individuals we gloated or groaned over it, according to our producing and selling or our buying and consuming relation to foodstuffs.

But when April 9, 1917, arrived with its momentous decision, we came at once to a governmental self-consciousness about food, and within a month began governmental food administration. President Wilson asked Mr. Hoover to come to America from Europe and report on the food conditions in the Allied countries. Mr. Hoover's experience in feeding Belgium had led him to an essential acquaintanceship with European food conditions. He arrived in New York on May 3 and went to Washington in the evening. The next day the American food administration began in a bedroom and parlor in a Washington hotel.

But for three months there was no food control act, no Congressionally authorized food administration, and no appropriation by Congress to pay the office expenses of the rapidly growing group of volunteer workers and their assistants; there was, in fact, no official Food Administration at all. Nor was there any until nearly the middle of August, when Congress, after its long debating, especially in the Senate—and here chiefly carried on by half a dozen objectors—passed the Food Control act. President Wilson immediately appointed Mr. Hoover Food Administrator, and by September 1 the handling and milling of the wheat of America was under strict governmental control.

Mr. Hoover's official appointment as Food Administrator found him already at the head of a small but very active going food administration concern. One of the principal things in Mr. Hoover's report to President Wilson in the first week of May on the food situation in the Allied countries was the revelation of what greatly increased demands would certainly be made on the American crops and food supplies of 1917. This indicated, as a corollary, the necessity of doing something immediately along the lines of food conservation in America if these demands were to be met—and as military necessities they simply had to be met. It was already too late to do much in the way of effecting an increased food production for the year except in the way of war gardens. The grain crops were already planted and growing, and the number of food animals was largely determined for the year. Mr. Hoover, therefore, proposed the inauguration at once of an active campaign for food conservation, meaning by this an attempt to get the people of the country to eliminate waste in foods, to substitute the use of perishables for foods that could be kept and shipped, and to use other kinds of grain, such as corn, oats, etc., instead of wheat. President Wilson agreed to this and offered to support such a campaign from the special war fund put into his hands by Congress. Food administration in America thus began, not as in other countries by governmental decrees affecting the food trades, but as an appeal for voluntary food conservation on the part of all the people.

In Mr. Hoover's report to the President it was also urged that the uncontrolled competitive buying by the different Allied countries in the American market was a matter of poor policy and certain danger. It was resulting in a tremendous cost to the Allies out of money that we had to find to lend them; it was creating a most evil reign of wild profiteering by middlemen—the producers were profiting much less than the food handlers—and it was making food not only scarce, but impossibly expensive for many of our own people. It was on the way to undermine our national nutrition, and hence our natural efficiency in the great effort we were about to make.

Therefore one of the first steps of the Food Administration under its legal authority to regulate the manufacturing jobbers, wholesalers, and large retailers of food—it has never had authority to regulate directly the smaller retailers or the individual consumers—was to attempt a determination of fair profits for the manufacturers and large handlers and to limit them to these profits, and to centralize and control all selling for export. It is practically by these means alone that the Food Administration has had any control of prices. It has no price-fixing authority in the sense that the English or other Allied Food Ministries have such authority. The English Food Controller has fixed a specific maximum price for each of over two hundred kinds of food commodities. Germany, France, and Italy have all fixed maximum prices. We have not. What we have done is to limit the prices, *i. e.*, profits, in the handling and pas-

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sage of food from the original producer to the final consumer, and we have entirely centralized and controlled the purchasing and the actual sending of food outside of the country. As the Allied purchases are enormous, this is also a means of stabilizing the price. It is a case of the buyer being powerful enough, because of his great purchases, to control the price.

The regulation of food use and food handling by actual order of the Food Administration under its legal authority has not rested for its sanction solely on this authority. In putting regulations into effect, Mr. Hoover has constantly kept in mind the peculiar genius of our people and has asked for and received a large measure of voluntary acceptance and support of such regulations from the food manufacturers and trades. Before regulations have been formulated, conference after conference has been held between officials of the Food Administration and representatives of the producers, traders, and consumers especially interested in any food products whose handling it was proposed to regulate. All the time, too, there has been kept up the nation-wide appeal for the voluntary support of all the people for all the suggestions and activities of the Food Administration. There has been created a food conscience in all the people of the land. This is the solid rock on which the Food Administration has built.

No one will deny that there have been results from food saving and food control in America; least of all the Governments of the Western Allies, who have seen the food coming steadily across to them through a period of short crops, of exhausted supplies and stocks, and of disturbed transportation and reduced shipping, and at prices which, while well repaying our producers for their effort, have not been robbing the people who are our companions in arms in the great struggle for right. Nor will the licensed and regulated grain and meat and fats and sugar handlers deny this, nor the housewives, who make wry faces sometimes when the grocer reminds them of the "50-50" rule; nor the man who gets a mysterious something at his club called Victory bread, which seems neither wheat nor corn nor yet oats or barley, but may be a mixture of any of these.

But there are certain persons of an inquiring turn of mind; persons who face all statements of alleged fact with a proper scientific doubt; as well as other persons who have no scientific doubt or inquiring turn of mind at all, because they "just naturally know," and do not apparently need much of any mind of any kind for the knowing, who have questions to ask or criticisms to make about American food control that ought, I suppose, to get some answer. Some of these questions and criticisms may be briefly referred to here.

A few of these questions and criticisms have not been "nice." At least some of them which might have an entirely legitimate basis for fair statement have been put occasionally in a way to suggest a meaning, by innuendo, that is not pleasant. For example, it may be a fair subject of discussion whether it is advisable or not for Mr. Hoover to have as chief advisers in regard to the control of various commodities and various trade practices men who have been in active business in these commodities or trades. Note that I say "have been," not "are." Because it is a fact that in almost all these instances of selecting heads of the "commodity divisions" of the Food Administration from the trades immediately concerned, the men selected have, at Mr. Hoover's request, divested themselves, often at much loss to themselves, of all financial interests in their business. A conspicuous instance of this is the case of the head and assistant managers of the Grain Corporation. Here a score of men gave up large and important business connections in order to have their hands uninfluenced, and their full time and energy free, for their national service.

Even then it may be asked if their former work has not given them a bias which will reveal itself in their advice and action. It at least is certain that their experience will have given them a knowledge of the conditions and methods and, if they exist, the tricks of the trade, which is a knowledge the Food Administration needs, and one that would be difficult to acquire in the short time that can be afforded for investigation if action is to be taken in time to make it worth while.

Mr. Hoover believed that a selection of men who already knew the food business rather than of men who would be willing to try to get this knowledge with opportunity and time was not only advisable, but, under the circumstances of pressing need for swift action, necessary. He has tried to get honest men, and men of patriotic ideals, and he has asked sacrifices of them. He is convinced now, after a year's experience, that he has been right in this belief and action. As a matter of fact he has had to combat a marked tendency of these trade advisers to lean over backwards in their attempt to be fair; they have been so fearful of popular suspicion that they have sometimes been unfair to the traders. They would out-Hoover the Food Administrator himself.

Another question, often uttered as a form of criticism, is this: Is not all of the action of the Food Administration directed towards immediate results, with little attention paid to the introduction and establishment of practices in food use and the food trades with an eye to future advantage? Is not the Food Administration neglecting its opportunity of establishing a general permanent reform of food conditions?

The answers to these questions are, as they say in the House of Commons, in the affirmative. But the Food Administration does not conceive its duties to involve an attempt to reform the world, nor even our own country, in food handling and food use. The Food Administration is an emergency organization; a war-time necessity with only a war-time function and a war-time life. The whole-wheat, the all-vegetables, the low-protein, and the prohibition advocates, as well as the convinced disciples of a host of other food reforms, have not found in the Food Administration that easy means of enforcing on reluctant people the following of their recommendations which they have hoped for. It is not for the Food Administration to say what of the regulations and suggestions it has made may be of use in post-war times and ought to be maintained permanently.

Mr. Clynes, who has just succeeded the late Lord Rhondda as British Food Controller, replied, in June, in the House of Commons, to a member who asked, during a discussion of the Government's recently adopted control of milk distribution, "whether this control was to be considered a war measure or a permanent policy," as follows: "Should the job be well handled, and should it be seen that in connection with this precious article of food state control was a very great public benefit, I am satisfied that a great public demand would grow up for the maintenance of state control after the war. It is desirable that any enhanced value due to the action of the Ministry (of Food) should be retained

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by the State." That is, I imagine, about the way Mr. Hoover would reply to a similar query under similar conditions.

Then there is another question which is often asked. If restriction in the use of food, or certain kinds of food, is necessary here in America in order that more may be sent to the Allies, why not leave the matter to the "laws of supply and demand," which will effectively take care of it? If the Allies need wheat, they will offer such prices to insure getting it that these high prices will necessarily reduce the home use, the supply being definitely limited. When wheat becomes too expensive, we shall use other foods, other cereals especially, in place of it, thus accomplishing by natural and usual methods the substitution that the Food Administration has struggled so hard to effect by appeal and regulation.

The answer is simply, as often expressed by Mr. Hoover, that this method will undoubtedly effect food conservation —by the poor. The rich can pay the price and have wheat. This method will, indeed, effect food conservation, but it will also effect intensified class feeling and bitter anger. It will produce unrest. It will lower the nutrition of the laboring classes and lessen national patriotism and national efficiency at exactly the time of all times when these must be at their maximum if we are to play our assigned part in to-day's world crisis.

Finally, any discussion of prices always reveals another and contrasted point of view, which is indicated by the following question: Why not go much farther in the way of keeping prices down, if you have the authority? (The Food Administration does not have a price-fixing authority directly, but, through its control by license of the manufacturers, jobbers, and wholesalers, and by its large part in the purchase of all foodstuffs for export, it does have considerable indirect control.) Why not, for the sake of the consumer, especially the working classes and the less well-to-do, prevent these war prices of food that now assault our pocket-books?

The key to the answer lies in an understanding of the full meaning of that phrase, "for the sake of the consumer." The consumer is popularly supposed to be taken care of when an artificially low price is maintained for his benefit. But it is quite as essential that there be food to buy as that the price of it be low. And if the price is too low, there simply will not be food to buy. The producer has also to be considered, not alone for his own sake—and that surely is not to be overlooked—but for the sake of the consumer as well. The more elaborate the fixing of maximum wholesale and retail prices by the English and French and Italian Food Ministries, the more careful do they have to be to establish simultaneously fixed minimum guarantees for the producer. And if the guaranteed minimum for wheat and other bread-grains is too high, as it now has to be, to permit of a needed low cost of bread to the consumer, then the Government has to subsidize the bakers. It is costing the United Kingdom about $200,000,000 a year to maintain the present nine-pence a quartern loaf bread price, and France about as much for its fifty centimes a kilo price.

Conservation is a good way to insure having enough food to go around, but production is a better. The Food Administration has had a large and wearing undertaking on its hands through the past year to produce, by conservation, an exportable surplus of a hundred and fifty million bushels of wheat out of a crop that would give it, with usual food use, a surplus of only about twenty million. But a combination of patriotism and a guaranteed $2.20 a bushel price, together with fair weather, has produced a crop this year that will make its work much easier, at least as regards wheat, for the coming twelve months.

It is necessary, for the sake of the consumer, to keep food prices from sky-rocketing beyond all reason—except that of the profiteer—but it is also necessary, for the sake of the same person to keep from fixing them below the level necessary to maintain a sufficient production. All through the year we have been able to see indications that a too effective conservation might be a less effective means of having food enough to go around!

The United States has had one year of food administration. A statement of details and analysis of results might be of interest. But this paper is already too long. There can only be added the general declaration that the results of American food control have met the demands on it. From our country, out of which food was going to all sorts of places in all sorts of quantities, with prices soaring without restraint and the benefit of these prices accruing largely to middleman profiteers, there is now going, under precise knowledge and control, that necessary large supply of food absolutely required for the maintenance of the Allies in full fighting strength, and that advisedly limited amount proper to genuine neutral needs. This exported food is being paid for at rates that are profitable to producers and handlers, but are not grossly unfair to the buyers, and hence are not establishing such impossible home prices as might easily prevail without control. And this exportable surplus has been made possible by a real conservation of food in the homes and public eating places of America, effected by a combination of voluntary action and governmental regulation.

Washington, D. C.

The Tyranny of Books

By CARL H. GRABO

MR. H. G. WELLS in that admirable work, "The Future in America," confesses that his stay in Boston was made uneasy by the frightful effort it cost him to "conceal the gaps in his intellectual baggage." The experience may be met with in places other than Boston; it is, in fact, almost inevitable for those whose education has been acquired in our modern colleges. Inevitable, that is, when these graduates, possessed of a scattered knowledge of this or that—political science, labor problems, biology, and Bergson—are thrown into the society of the older generation whose intellectual life has been passed with the Latin, Greek, and English classics, whose philosophy is of the vintage of Plato and Descartes, and whose political economy is confined to "The Wealth of Nations" and the early works of John Stuart Mill. The new generation confronts the old and is abashed. Where did these old gentlemen find time to absorb so much ancient lore? And have they not learned how to forget? They have, moreover, read Greek tragedy in the original, whereas this raw product of the new age is, at best, acquainted only with Gilbert Murray.

He is at a disadvantage and smarts under the sensation. Failing to catch the allusion to Lucretius, he counters with an abrupt remark upon the Bolsheviki or the policy of the English Labor party. Or, wishing to air his own literary

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The Nation announces the publication of an

International Relations Section

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International

WITH its issue of October Fifth, *The Nation* will begin the publication of a fortnightly section devoted to the subject of International Relations. The section, of sixteen pages, will be of the same size and general typographical appearance as *The Nation*. It will be edited by *The Nation* staff, with the co-operation of a considerable number of scholars and publicists in the United States and throughout the world.

¶ In addition to contributed articles, the International Relations section will contain the texts of important diplomatic documents or documents of International interest printed in carefully prepared English translations, when English is not the original language, and furnished with suitable introductions and explanatory notes. There will also appear in each issue summaries of the foreign press, notes on articles in periodical publications dealing with international questions, a department of book reviews, and brief notes on diplomatic and international events of current significance.

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tions Section

¶ Matter which appears in the regular issues of *The Nation* will not reappear in the International Relations section.

¶ This enlargement of the scope of *The Nation* is planned in the belief that the time is ripe for more extended public discussion, on a liberal and constructive basis, of all questions having to do with the relations of nations to one another. The war has not only raised a host of new and difficult problems which the immediate future must solve, but it has also developed new possibilities of international co-operation and new hopes of international unity. For the United States, it is more than ever important that what is being done or said in other parts of the world regarding these international problems should be fully, faithfully and impartially presented and candidly discussed. For the world outside the United States, it is important that the best public opinion of America should be both accurately and widely known. For the nations everywhere, it is important that the influences which make for unity, as well as the obstacles which at any time may tend to obstruct it,

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should be set forth in an authoritative and constructive way. To aid in bringing this about is the purpose of the International Relations section.

¶ The International Relations section will not be sold separately. It can be obtained only in connection with the regular issues of *The Nation*. For the convenience, however, of readers who may wish to bind the issues separately, the section will carry a separate pagination in addition to the regular serial pagination of *The Nation*. The subscription price of *The Nation*, including the section, will be $4.00 until January 31, 1919, when it will be advanced to $5.00.

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ulture, he alludes to the labor poems of Giovannitti. The Bolsheviki will surely bring a rise. His adversary has views n this theme—somewhat obscure, to be sure, but strong. To the English Labor party he is politely indifferent. And e has never heard of Giovannitti. A fellow to D'Annun-io, perhaps? Why is modern literature tainted with de-generacy? Why are modern writers without a sense for orm and a feeling for restraint? A disquisition ensues, nd the exponent of the new culture, though unconvinced, is educed to discomfited silence. But the amenities of polite liscourse have been violated and a spiritual *rapprochement* s seen to be impossible.

This is all very sad, but seemingly inevitable; history ut repeats itself. Was not Jeffrey contemptuous of Keats, whose knowledge of Greek was derived from a dictionary f classical mythology? And how can these cultured gentle-nen of the old school be so sure of literary, ethical, and olitical truth? The new generation is afraid of convic-ions, standards, touchstones, precepts. It is sure of no-hing save that life is a wonderful adventure. Each morn-ng it rises early with the conviction shared by Mr. Micaw-er that something is sure "to turn up." And this some-hing it feels will be new and glorious, something unpre-licted by the past. Life, it believes, is change, and in its eart it disbelieves that there is nothing new under the un.

A class of college freshmen led by the cicerone of the lassics to a "survey of English literature" and made ac-quainted with the structural distinction between the Eng-ish and Italian sonnet form is bored; sometimes politely ored, but always bored. The exceptions are negligible. ead Masefield to it, or Masters, or Vachel Lindsay and it s interested. This is not literature, says the class, but omething interesting; it talks of something with which he class is more or less familiar. The instructor, therefore, beying the modern educational precept, "Always interest our students," gives a course of readings in the modern erse-makers—he hesitates to call them poets, for he him-elf possesses vestigial traces of culture. And they make ery good reading, too. He is surprised to find himself nterested. Occasionally, even, they attain rather fine ef-ects. There is that piece of Masefield's, "Cargoes." Rather icturesque, that. And "Silence," by Masters. His throat ightens a bit as he reads it. Though why couldn't the man ave some regard for conventional form?

Perhaps the instructor, if—improbably enough—he be ossessed of imagination, dips into the future as far as ye can see and contemplates a college class thirty years ence when he, haply, may be rereading the old books in he comfortable leisure provided by his hard-earned pen-ion. Perhaps in that new age the watch-dog of the poetic reasury will be vainly endeavoring to interest a class in he older poets—the pre-revolutionary group, Masefield, ibson, Masters, Lindsay, perchance. The class is bored. ive us something new, cry the class, something we can nderstand. So the instructor is obliged—for the point s, of course, put to vote and carried by a majority—to ead "Gleams," by Berensky, the Chicago "Ultimist," and Wrack," by Smith, the aeronaut poet whose "Skyscapes" nd "Night Fragments" have—— But culture? These are orrid imaginings.

It is probable, of course, that the history of literature ill by this time have become a subdivision of paleontology nd be upon a firm scientific basis. The literature of the past, fossil literature, will be appropriately classified and exhibited in a Museum of Books provided for that purpose, the specimens to be handled by experts only, though a curious public may view the show-cases on Saturday and Sunday afternoons upon payment of a small fee. The exhibits will be classified into "varieties of the same species most closely related, species of the same genus less closely and unequally related, forming sections and sub-genera, species of distinct genera much less closely related, and genera related in different degrees, forming sub-families, families, orders, sub-classes, and classes." The arrangement will be in accord with a carefully considered theory of evolutionary descent. The mutation theory of De Vries will account for the births of new species, thus greatly simplifying the study of the romantic movement, wayward child of the classical age; and naturalism, "self-controlled epileptic fed exclusively on proof spirit," the unnatural offspring of romanticism and realism. But æsthetic and moral criteria will happily be defunct. No one will prate longer of the best novel of Thackeray or the second-best any more than one would speak of a more or less beautiful lepidosiren or a good or bad ornithorhyncus. And this will be a grateful relief. Living literature will, naturally, be the study of biology and will be cultivated like guinea-pigs for purposes of vivisection. Each one of us may have his own family of pets, of course, for I am not one who believes with many that scientific study dries all the springs of natural affection.

Should the publication of books be continued in the new age—I should prefer their circulation in manuscript—they will not be reprinted after ten years; at the end of thirty all copies will be withdrawn from circulation and pulped save the few specimens reserved for museums. Think of the conservation of our spruce forests. And how spacious and uncluttered the world of thought! One desiring a tragedy will write it. If an ode, he will compose it, unhampered by recollections of Pindar, Cowley, Wordsworth, Keats. He will, haply, never have heard those bits of felicitous phrasing, "trailing clouds of glory" and "magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas." O joy! to be a poetic ember in that new time. The tyranny of books will then be as extinct as the tyranny of kings. Literature will have been democratized.

Napoleon

By GAMALIEL BRADFORD

FOR France and liberty he set apart
His soul at first in aspiration high.
But pure thoughts wither and ideals die.
And self, fed richly from ambition's mart,
Swelled, triumphed with insinuating art,
The hideous, monstrous, all-engrossing I,
Which strangled love and France and liberty
And laid its eager clutch on Europe's heart.

Then Spain assailed it like an autumn gust,
And England netted it with her sea-might,
And Russia opened all her icy graves.
The huge colossus crumbled into dust
And sank forever out of human sight
On a lone island 'mid the Atlantic waves.

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Foreign Correspondence

The Federal Movement in Great Britain

London, July 2

BY this time the most bigoted conservatives have cheerfully reconciled themselves to the belief that nothing will be the same after the war. Proposals are actively discussed for throwing into the melting-pot not only the economic system, but the sacrosanct British Constitution itself, and nobody is shocked. A sign of the times was the favorable reception given by the Prime Minister last week to a deputation which urged the immediate establishment of subordinate national legislatures within the United Kingdom. Evidently the movement towards federalism has gained such influence that it is no longer to be dismissed by gibes about the restoration of the Heptarchy.

What has brought the matter to a head is the crisis in Ireland. In the breakdown of the existing government and the abandonment of all other schemes for solving the problem—everybody seems to admit that the Home Rule act of 1914, though on the statute-book, is as dead as a door-nail—people are beginning to ask whether federalism may not offer a possible way out of the *impasse*. As Mr. Lloyd George suggested in his reply to the deputation, you can say to Ireland, on the federal basis: "Well, we are giving you exactly what we are taking ourselves, and what is good enough for us ought to be good enough for you." There are difficulties, it is true, in the application of the principle to Ireland. One can hardly contemplate the Irish situation in these days without recalling the story of the Sibylline books. Does not the federal suggestion come too late? The growth of Sinn Fein certainly seems to point to that conclusion. After the way in which the most hopeful proposals have been ruined by the folly of British statesmanship, Irish opinion would have good ground for the suspicion that the putting forward now of a federal scheme would be nothing better than an excuse for further evasion. At any rate, there is real doubt whether, at this time of day, the demands of Ireland would be satisfied with a federal constitution.

Pressure towards federalism is being applied at the same time from other quarters also. A demand for self-government is being heard from Scotland and Wales, and, in the case of Wales at least, more loudly than before the war. That these countries have a just claim to separate treatment was long ago admitted in practice. Scottish law, for example, differs from English law in relation to church and state, marriage and divorce, the tenure of land, and inheritance. The educational systems of the two countries are likewise entirely different. But these special and distinctive laws have had to be obtained from an Imperial legislature in which Scottish representatives are a minority, and, if the present system continues, any future changes in Scottish law will have to be secured from the same source. In Wales the practical difficulties in obtaining from an Imperial Parliament the measures required for the development of the principality in accordance with the aspirations of its people have stimulated a Home Rule movement which English politicians will soon have to reckon with. The war itself has added fuel to this fire by the endorsement it has given to demands for "self-determination" on the part of small nationalities.

The primary force impelling towards federalism is thus the sense of separate nationality in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, supported by the practical consideration that it is increasingly difficult to express this national spirit in institutions that would appropriately embody it if these countries have first to wait for the approval of these institutions, in the minutest points of detail, by a mixed United Kingdom legislature. When introducing his Home Rule bill for Ireland, Mr. Asquith declared: "You will never get—I am speaking the lesson that has been taught me by a quarter of a century of Parliamentary experience—the separate concerns of the different parts of this United Kingdom treated either with adequate time or with adequate knowledge and sympathy until you have the wisdom and the courage to hand them over to the representatives whom alone they immediately affect."

England herself has not yet felt so keenly her lack of such powers of self-government. As a matter of fact, with 465 members out of a total of 670 in the House of Commons, she has managed in all important matters to get her own way. Yet even England is beginning to see a very substantial benefit that she might derive from federalism. She would gain not so much by the elimination of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh votes from the division lists on English bills—these votes could be overwhelmed, in any case, by the votes of representatives of English constituencies—as by the release of Parliament from the necessity of spending part of its time on Irish, Scottish, and Welsh affairs. It is now several decades since Gladstone likened Parliament to a fettered Hercules staggering under an intolerable load. The legislature at Westminster is even more hopelessly overburdened to-day. The functions of organized government, even in peace times, have been immensely increased of late years, with the consequent result of a most disheartening congestion of business in Parliament. Legislative arrears accumulate from year to year, the House becomes increasingly impotent to criticise and control the Executive, and discussion has to be inordinately restricted if anything whatever is to be done. The growth of officialdom is alien to English traditions, but it is inevitable as things are at present. If there is no time for the adequate discussion of a bill, there is nothing for it but to leave the details to be filled in by the administrative departments at their discretion. Under such a system, no matter how the franchise may be extended by reform acts, what will really be triumphant will be, not democracy, but bureaucracy.

If this handicap to efficient legislation was severely felt in normal times, how much more prejudicial it is likely to be in the conditions immediately following the war! During the reconstruction period, and even before it, the legislature will be confronted with the duty of devising schemes of far-reaching importance on which will hang some of the gravest national and Imperial issues that it is possible to imagine. How can it adequately perform such a task if its time is already mortgaged by the duty of deciding on the proper drainage system for Sligo? Austen Chamberlain did not in the least exaggerate when he predicted last May that, unless some method of devolution were adopted, the whole Parliamentary scheme would break down from overwork. "The work," he said, "which it is necessary for us to do will not be done; questions in which large sections of our countrymen are interested will not be considered; and the whole Parliamentary system will be in danger of falling into contempt and being superseded by some revolutionary form of activity."

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Against the pressure of this urgency, the merely academic objections to federalism will count for little. Not much attention is likely to be paid nowadays to the argument which Mr. Balfour developed, in his own characteristic fashion, a few years ago. He pointed out that in America and the Dominions the movement was towards greater centralization. The proposal for Home Rule within the United Kingdom would reverse that process, and would therefore, he suggested, be an attempt to struggle against the stream of tendency. Practical politicians will reply that, if political groups which started with too little centralization in their government find it expedient to secure more of it, that is no reason why a group which finds itself hampered by an excess of centralization should not endeavor to reduce it. Possibly it is only by the movement of these two classes of groups in opposite directions that the golden mean will ultimately be found. The real difficulty was that suggested by the Prime Minister last week, namely, that to the people of England—as distinct from those of the rest of the United Kingdom—the question is a novel one, and the public opinion of the "predominant partner" will therefore have to be educated before any steps can be taken towards devolution. But political education in these days proceeds at a speed which would have been incredible in pre-war times. Now, too, that the spirit of party is in abeyance, the opportunity seems unusually favorable for carrying out a constitutional change of even this magnitude, not only without friction, but with almost unanimous consent.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

Correspondence

Rossetti's "Monna Vanna"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Rossetti's "Monna Vanna," to which M. Fontainas makes reference in his letter published in the *Nation* for July 20, is not a poem, but an oil painting—owned by Mr. G. Rae, England. The subject is that lovely Florentine lady, Giovanna, long beloved by Dante's friend, Guido Cavalcanti, and celebrated by both Dante and Guido. Guido addressed to her, not to mention other things, the *ballata* commencing

> Fresca rosa novella,
> Piacente Primavera
> (Oxford Book of Italian Verse, No. 21),

and the sonnet,

> Avete in voi li fiori e la verdura.
> (*Ibid.*, No. 26.)

Dante says of her, in "La Vita Nuova," XXIV, that her name was Giovanna, but that because of her great beauty she was called *Primavera;* and in the sonnet immediately following, in which he commemorates the vision of Beatrice coming to him with Giovanna as her harbinger, he uses the loving diminutives of both the ladies' names, "monna Bice" and "monna Vanna":

> Io vidi monna Vanna e monna Bice,
> Venire inverso il loco là ov' i' era,
> L'una appresso dell' altra meraviglia:
> E sì come la mente mi ridice,
> Amor mi disse: "Questa è Primavera,
> E quella ha nome Amor, sì mi somiglia."

Again in his famous sonnet to Guido, "Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io," Dante links the names of his own and his friend's beloved:

> E monna Vanna e monna Bice poi—

a line which Rossetti renders,

> And Lady Joan, and Lady Beatrice,

in his translation, causing the "monna Vanna" to disappear here as well as in "La Vita Nuova," XXIV, where he finds "Lady Joan" more suitable for the play on "John," as Dante plays on "Giovanni." For his painting, however, Rossetti prefers the name "Monna Vanna." JOHN K. BONNELL

Annapolis, Md., July 20

Early Textbooks on Government

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is a general impression that government was not taught in American schools until after the Civil War. An article on "Civics" in Monroe's Cyclopedia of Education says, "It was not taught in the schools until after 1859." Other expressions seem to follow this lead. That the subject was taught in the Jacksonian period of our history (say, 1830–1845) seems to be proved by the number and character of the textbooks which appeared in that period. A. W. Young published one in 1836, which maintained its position well enough to be reëdited several times, once as late as 1901. E. D. Mansfield published another the same year which reached its sixteenth edition by 1849. Both of the authors in their early editions refer to books on the same subject, and Mansfield is somewhat proud of what he holds in 1849 to have been the fact, that his book had maintained itself against some ten or a dozen competitors in the same subject. Charles Mason published a book in 1842 which lays some stress on the theme of our present community civicists. Sullivan's Class Book, which seems to have appeared first in 1850, may have been pioneer in this period.

A fairly diligent search has not revealed any acceptable textbooks first published between the years 1848 and 1874; and I am sending you this letter in the hope that some reader who knows of such textbooks will communicate with me. If none or only inferior ones appeared in this period, it seems reasonable to generalize that activity in the teaching of government in America has been contemporaneous with public concern about the welfare of republican institutions. During the Jacksonian period the intellectuals were much discouraged by the success of what they thought to be mere demagogues, and in this period fairly good books appeared. In the Civil War period the main political interest was the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union. Republican institutions were not at stake, for the Confederacy adopted an excellent republican constitution. Therefore but little attention was given to instruction in government. As the period of reconstruction drew to a close and the public conscience began to awaken under the influence of the Tweed and similar scandals, there was a widespread demand that the principles of civil government be given more recognition in the schools, and books of more or less value began to appear.

I realize that this whole subject may have no more practical value than the number of angels that dance on the point of a needle, but it has some academic interest. Those who would look further back in the story will probably find

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few textbooks published before 1830. The only one I have been able to discover is Elhanan Winchester's Political Catechism, published in 1796 for use in the schools and "made level to the lowest capacities." Evidently written to stem the tide of what the New England author thought a danger to sound government from Jeffersonian doctrines, it is far from being the work of an amateur. As a textbook it is not an exception to my tentative generalization above, for the intellectuals of that day in Massachusetts were sincerely upset by the growth of Jeffersonian political and moral views. EDGAR DAWSON

Hunter College, New York, July 26

Form First, or Substance?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is rather difficult just now to feel much interest in a controversy about methods of teaching spelling and punctuation; but I must beg leave to correct a misrepresentation of my review of Mr. C. H. Ward's "What is English?" made by Mr. Harold W. Hawk in your issue of July 27. Under the heading "Fluency First, or Accuracy?" Mr. Hawk quotes a couple of sentences from my review:

> Some of the difficulties against which Mr. Ward urges concentration of all available reserves may be more easily overcome by a flank attack or a series of well-planned raids. If a student through the awakening of his mind by reading, or through other influences, can be induced to take an interest in expressing his own ideas, these minor essentials will easily and quickly be added to his equipment.

Mr. Hawk then interprets as follows:

> Mr. Ward is on one side of the barricade; the reviewer on the other. One says, "Seek ye first fluency, and accuracy will magically be added unto you." The other says, "Be accurate first of all, in order that fluency may be made manifest."

Your correspondent has not succeeded in stating my position accurately, and I doubt whether he has done much better with Mr. Ward's. I do not believe that Mr. Ward any more than I would regard fluency as a literary virtue. Certainly I did not intend to recommend it as an end at all, much less as a primary end; and I am puzzled to understand how Mr. Hawk discovered that meaning in my words. The real difference, I take it, between Mr. Ward's view and mine is simply this: Mr. Ward seems to believe that form can be taught most effectively as an end in itself; I believe form can be taught most effectively as subordinate to substance. We are quite agreed that accuracy in form is important, and I am far from recommending a "*laissez-faire* attitude" in regard to accuracies of any sort. But I believe that substance logically and necessarily comes first, even in a high-school theme. The student who is to learn accuracy in expression must first want to express something. It is better tactics first to get him interested in trying to describe a bit of his experience clearly and interestingly, and then to show him how commas and semicolons will help him, than to require him to learn sets of rules about commas and semicolons in the hope that he will thereby be inspired to "an intellectual hunt for material that will permit of nice adjustments." (The phrase is Mr. Hawk's.) Imagine a high-school or college boy on a hunt for subject-matter which will enable him to put in practice his newly memorized rules of the semicolon! THE REVIEWER

July 31

BOOKS

Western Scenes and Problems

Voyages on the Yukon and Its Tributaries. By Hudson Stuck. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50 net.

In the Alaskan Wilderness. By George Byron Gordon. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. $3.50 net.

The Barren Ground of Northern Canada. By Warburton Pike. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $2 net.

Reclaiming the Arid West. By George Wharton James. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. $3.50 net.

The Desert. By John C. Van Dyke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2 net.

Tenting To-night. By Mary Roberts Rinehart. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.75 net.

Stories of the Old Missions of California. By Charles Franklin Carter. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company.

Our Hawaii. By Charmian Kittredge London. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.25 net.

IF Hudson Stuck, Archdeacon of Alaska, had written but one book, "The Ascent of Denali," he would be in the forefront of pioneer writers on our Northwest; but he is also the author of "Ten Thousand Miles with a Dog Sled," a narrative of winter travel in Alaska; and to this he now adds a narrative of summer travel in the same country, depicting, with pen and camera, his experiences in traversing the waters of the Yukon and its tributaries, on the launch Pelican. These experiences cover ten summers, and the narrative gives a composite portrait of them all, which makes it, of course, far more entertaining than a tourist record of a single trip would be. The total distance covered in this decade exceeds thirty thousand miles. The author is an F.R.S. as well as a D.D., and he has so much to say about all sorts of things that his missionary functions are kept quite in the background. He lets his readers see everything through the eyes of a highly educated man who is at the same time an explorer and mountain climber of exceptional daring and endurance—a man of the type of Tyndall and Leslie Stephen. He was the first to reach the summit of our highest snow mountain, and he had the good taste to retain its fine old Indian name, "Denali," discarding the "Mt. McKinley" unfortunately bestowed on it some years ago. It is to be hoped that when the Board of Geographic Names, at Washington, D. C., makes its decision on this point, it will read what the Rev. Dr. Stuck has to say on this subject, lest it repeat its blunder in the case of Mt. Rainier or Tacoma. It may be stated at once that another explorer of this region whose book is on our list to-day, George Byron Gordon, follows Dr. Stuck's good example in favoring "Denali." Among the many things discussed entertainingly in "Voyages on the Yukon" are farming and mining in Alaska; the mysterious migration of salmon; the effect of a fish diet; the good work done by the Hudson Bay Company; fox farming; glacier mud in rivers; the Klondike stampede; the hard lot of Alaskan dogs; traffic routes; climate, mosquitoes, and mountain scenery; with much information about Indians as they really are. Jack London, the author admits, wrote the best story of the Great Stampede in "The Call of the Wild"; but "his dogs are not dogs," and "his Indians are more ridiculously untrue to life than any that Fenimore Cooper painted."

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Several imposing and alluring pictures of Mt. Denali are among the illustrations in George Byron Gordon's book on the Alaskan Wilderness, a book which vies with the preceding in point of interest. It is devoted largely to an account of a trip made down the Kuskokwin River, which flows parallel to the Yukon, from which the expedition started, to end with a perilous adventure in the Bering Sea. Much of the ground covered was new to whites, and a long appendix is devoted to the manners and customs of the Indians in this region—the natives who smoke the dressed skins they wear—whence Kipling's reference to the "silent smoky Indian." To this "Kingdom of Denali," as the author heads his best chapter, tourists will go in years hence as they have gone for decades to Switzerland; but for a long time it will be only for those who agree with this writer that camp life is "the best life there is."

"The Barren Ground of Northern Canada" is the record of another lover of camp life. Thirty years ago Warburton Pike undertook an adventurous trip, largely across a chain of big lakes, to the region between Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Sea, where dwelt the musk-ox, of which little was known at the time. To hunt that animal was his ambition, and he succeeded, though at the cost of much discomfort, privation, and peril, on which he dwells sufficiently, but not to the point of wearying the reader. A few Indians were his sole companions, the rifle and net his only food resources. Good pictures of the deathly stillness in the land of the musk-ox in snow time alternate with exciting tales of hunting that animal or the caribou. Although the author modestly claims that his book is solely for the sportsman, it has charm for all who appreciate enthusiasm for nature. Recalling the days when he could "hear the ptarmigan crowing among the little pines as the sun goes down over a frozen lake and the glory of an Arctic night commences," he declares that "if Heaven is still more beautiful, my heart will be glad."

The author of "Reclaiming the Arid West" is no less of a nature enthusiast, as his books on Arizona and California attest. In this volume he considers the practical value of the desert. The arid lands, he points out, are the most fertile of all; the one thing they need is water. The Colorado River is the American Nile. An interesting account is given by Mr. James of the important pioneer work done by John Wesley Powell, the organizer of the United States Geological Survey and the father of the reclamation service, for which he fought valiantly and persistently. In a long series of chapters the author proceeds to describe the big irrigation projects in California, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Oregon, and other States, with detailed accounts of results achieved, which makes his book invaluable to intending settlers in these regions.

Opposed to Mr. James, who shows the way to further desecration of nature to serve the (alleged) good of mankind, is John C. Van Dyke, who preaches that "the deserts should never be reclaimed. They are the breathing spaces of the West and should be preserved forever." To turn our Southwestern deserts into an agricultural tract "would be to increase humidity, and that would be practically to nullify the finest air on the continent." "How is the water supply, from an economic and hygienic standpoint, any more important than the air supply?" All over Europe and Asia the air has been "breathed and burned and battle-smoked for ten thousand years"; let us keep our American air "clear and scentless." Readers who may consider this view exaggerated or fantastic will none the less revel in this delightful book. Its sixteen reprints attest its merit.

The latest tourist paradise is Glacier Park. Last year it enjoyed a great "boom"—the concessionaries were unprepared to care for all who came. Nevertheless, Mrs. Rinehart succeeded in securing a string of thirty-one horses for an adventurous expedition into the remoter regions of the reservation and beyond, across the Cascade Mountains down the Pacific Slope. They had arduous tasks and hair-breadth escapes; they also had good fishing, and altogether enjoyed life as only campers can enjoy it. The author's wit and vivacity make her narrative exceptionally entertaining.

Travelling westward we reach the coast with its old missions. Mr. Carter's seven stories owe their chief interest to their local color. He is not a born story-teller, like Jack London, whose premature death was such a loss to readers of tales of abounding virility. Of his own sturdy masculinity he gave abundant evidence, and never more so than when he sailed westward from California to Hawaii with his wife in the ketch Snark. To be sure, his motto was: "Give me a small boat, every time, for safety at sea! She stays on top!" This adventure, naturally, made him a hero when he arrived at Honolulu, where he was royally entertained. How the months were spent is vividly related by his Mate Woman, as he always called his wife, in "Our Hawaii," a book which has much of the charm of Isabella Bird's intimate and vivid description of life on these islands. To Jack London, as to Mark Twain, Hawaii was the garden of the world. He could not understand why it was not thronged with tourists; for here were scenes partaking of the Yosemite, the Grand Cañon, the Alps, the Swiss Alps, yet "more elusively wonderful." The volcanoes were visited and described, and all the other principal sights, including the leper island. Even here, the inhabitants are, in some ways, one is surprised to read, "the happiest in the world."

Imperialistic Democracy

America Among the Nations. By H. H. Powers. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

READERS of Mr. Powers's earlier volume, "The Things Men Fight For," will find in the present work the same qualities of critical insight and informing generalization which distinguished its predecessor. The book falls into two parts, the first of which is a rapid summary of American development, from colonial times, in the sphere of external and foreign relations; while the second surveys the present position and future problems of the United States with regard to the larger questions of international politics arising out of the war. From the standpoint of scholarship, the first part is the better, some of the chapters in the second part suggesting haste. It is only fair to Mr. Powers to say, however, that he disclaims any desire to be counted among the prophets; and if the portions of his book which point out, at times with startling directness, the difficulties which the United States may have to meet, are less conclusive than those which tell of what has already happened, it is mainly because the problems of the future are still taking form.

American history, as Mr. Powers sees it, has been, through practically its whole course, frankly imperialistic. To be sure, we have not always had a deliberate policy, and least of all a far-seeing programme consciously adhered to from

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generation to generation. But whether we have contented ourselves with some "practical" treatment of a problem of the moment, or followed the beckoning of "manifest destiny," or merely drifted with the current, we have nevertheless gone on enlarging our territory, appropriating, buying, or conquering what was next to us, playing a shrewd hand in diplomatic negotiations, holding a stiff front with the great Powers and coercing the weak ones, and, in the long run, getting what we wanted. In all this we have but illustrated the essential imperialism of a democracy; and that all democracies are imperialistic is one of the theses to whose exposition Mr. Powers's book is devoted. We do not recall any recent writer who has so clearly pointed out, in a popular way, the commanding position which the United States has attained through its acquisition of islands in the Pacific and its occupation of one strategic point after another in the Caribbean, as well as by its steady expansion on the North American continent. Any one who still accepts the myth of American "isolation," or wonders why Latin America fails to regard the United States as its great and good friend, should read Mr. Powers's brilliant pages and be disillusioned.

How fares it, then, with an imperialistic America at this moment of world turmoil, and how will it fare when the present struggle is over? Mr. Powers is nothing if not frank. He sees clearly the bases of Germany's demand for a place in the sun, its inevitable struggle for national existence between Russia on the one side and Great Britain on the other, and its aggressive look towards North and South America whatever the outcome of the present war. To him, the war is a mortal conflict, not for Europe, but for the world, between Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon imperialism; and while he cherishes no doubt as to which side has the nobler cause, he entertains, apparently, little hope that the defeat of the German programme will necessarily insure continued world peace. Japan, compelled by irresistible economic forces, as well as by political ambition, to seek colonial expansion, he regards as the great menace in the West, and as a Power quite as likely to become an ally of Germany as to remain in opposition. The march of Russia has been checked only for the time being by its present disorder, and is certain to be resumed. Not even from England and France may we hope for continued acquiescence in our American policy of imperialistic control in the Caribbean, if, as Mr. Powers thinks is possible, those nations shall come to look upon that policy as a permanent bar to their own world ambitions. To-day, it is America and the Allies against Germany; to-morrow, it may be America against both Europe and Asia.

We cannot but think that Mr. Powers paints his shadows too darkly; that the outlook for hostile relations after the war, especially with England, France, and Japan, is less certain than he indicates; and that he gives less weight than should be given to the forces of international coöperation, not to speak of sheer world weariness, which make for international understanding and good will. It would be idle to deny, however, that the dangers which he foresees exist *in posse*, if not *in esse*. If this thoughtful book shall serve to inform and deepen our sense of national responsibility in these grave times, or to indicate more surely the narrow path of international rectitude in which the United States, preëminently among the nations, must walk if it would conserve the interests of peace, Mr. Powers will have made a patriotic contribution of a large sort.

Ways of British Romance

The Time Spirit. By J. C. Snaith. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Over the Hills and Far Away. By Guy Fleming. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

Love Eternal. By H. Rider Haggard. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

The Promise of Air. By Algernon Blackwood. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

"EVERYBODY had known for a generation that democracy was knocking at the gate, but the true art of prophecy as a going concern is to predict the event the day after it happens." This aphorism of Mr. Snaith's, inspired by a public speech of the Duke of his story, might have been the ironic motto of the book. The "Time Spirit" which is supposed to manifest itself so thrillingly in these pages is nothing more or less than the modern working principle that all men are born more or less free and equal. Our Duke has been bred to believe that "dukes were not as other men. . . . But now, it would seem, the Time Spirit had overtaken the order to which he belonged." In short, various inconvenient things are discovered to be going on within the strongholds of British society. The time, to be sure, is not the present; but even at the fag-end of the Victorian years our noble Briton seems unaccountably "green" about the social mutations and tendencies of the period. He is fearfully and conventionally British. The soul-harrowing shocks he has to face are: a family alliance with a Cabinet member who has made his own way; the passing of his title to an heir who, trained in America, has little reverence or liking for his forthcoming honors; and the need of acknowledging a wife and a daughter whom for dynastic reasons he has permitted to be nameless. Still a young man, he had secretly married his dead wife's maid, magnanimously lifted her to the post of housekeeper, and retained her there for his comfort—to be incidentally an object of suspicion and insult on the part of the women of ducal blood. The wife's reverence for his rank makes all this endurable by her, and her love for him cannot be increased by his setting her right with the world. We leave him basking in her devotion and murmuring complacently, "He for God only, she for God in him." The daughter, one need hardly say, marries the heir.

The plot of Mr. Fleming's "Over the Hills and Far Away" is of the same ingenuous cast—turns, as it happens, on the same kind of family mystery. The eldest son of the Earl of Glencairn has privily wedded a maiden of low degree, has had issue by her, a son, and has shortly thereafter taken himself out of the world. The boy is brought into the Earl's household and reared kindly. But his legitimacy is not revealed until the end of the story. The action is placed in another century, and provides a pleasant store of romantic adventure, involving smugglers, highwaymen, political outlaws, rascally money-lenders, duelling, lost documents, and other not unfamiliar accessories. The unknown heir tells the story, a youth of astounding courage and homely wit, with whom an unexacting reader may travel comfortably, from the first, along the milestoned open road of British romance.

Rider Haggard is a very old companion on that road, and it is pleasant to discover, from a random glance at "Who's Who," that he is still in the early sixties. He has always

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had two ways of treading the path: the alert and inquisitive way of a fanciful boy, spinning ingenious yarns out of the faces and chance gestures of his fellow-wayfarers; and the brooding way of the mystic whose vision apprehends a past and a future inextricably woven with the passing phase we call "the present"—the way of Quatermain and the way of "She"; which, to be sure, often cross and are never far apart in the consciousness of the romancer. Whether he deals with adventure or mystery, with far lands or exotic emotions, Sir Rider (as we are now instructed to call him) is unbudgably British. The theme of 'Love Eternal" is the enduring relation between two souls who, in various ages and incarnations, have approached each other and perhaps crept near to happiness, and for whom perfect union and consummation are now clearly foreshadowed. It is a motive which has been a good deal handled of late, especially by Mr. Algernon Blackwood. Mr. Blackwood inclines to over-explicitness in his development of the theme, is often both long-winded and heavy-handed. Also, though he keeps assuring us that his protagonists are quite ordinary people but for their mystical destiny, we cannot help feeling their queerness. They seem to lack the everyday vernacular, they certainly lack humor. Sir Rider's young pair, on the other hand, are quite "convincing" in their casual Briticism. They smile and chat very lightheartedly on occasion. They accept the conventional obstacles to their union in this life with true British docility. (Our youth is son of a poor parson, our maiden daughter of a rich squire.) But they share a half-articulate conviction of their common destiny, and of a bond whose first links were forged in the dim past and whose completion and confirmation lies in the future beyond "the grave." In this world they are to remain apart, as body from body, but their souls grow near and, before leaving the body, are at peace in the certainty of a union upon some other plane. Cosmic romance, if you will—in terms of British tradition.

Mr. Blackwood in his story abandons for the moment the mystery of the past and undertakes an excursion into the mystery of the future. His vision is of a new human world to be framed upon the principles of that bird-world in which he finds all the virtues and graces of potential living. To embody this idea he employs a superficially commonplace Cockney family, who are, of course, extraordinary underneath. The father and mother, after a sudden youthful light of romance, have "settled down" into dull routine. The woman has taken to the gods of respectability and convention; the man makes perfunctory obeisance to the god of success. He, however, has not quite lost the mystical rapture of his youth, with its strange fancies of birdlike freedom and flight. His child incarnates that half-forgotten spirit—a flitting, joyous being who consciously loves and emulates the buoyant liberty of flying things. Her father lives in her and wins back through her his old youthful dreams. All their talk is of birds and air and the need of humanity for the ways of air. There is (after Mr. Blackwood's habit) a vast deal of repetition of this tolerably simple idea. "Air, dear, yes," explains our Cockney to his wondering and fairly patient spouse; "and that means living like the birds, more carelessly, more lightly, taking no thought for the morrow." And so on. For the rest, we are to see the mother also restored to her youth through faith in this new religion of air, and the family retired to the free country, there to nest contentedly, if not to fly. As with more than one of this writer's "novels," we feel that the book contains, in greatly elongated and elaborated form, a substance which a surer artist, a Hawthorne, for example, would have perfectly expressed within the brief limits of a fanciful tale or sketch.

The Great Mogul

Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1542–1605. By Vincent A. Smith. New York: Oxford University Press.

THE indiscriminate use of the term "Mogul" on and off the musical comedy stage in this country reminds the reader that it is used properly to designate the Tīmūrid dynasty in India, and is merely another form of "Mongol." For the Jesuit missionaries, who were always welcome at the court of the eclectic Akbar, the term "Mogor" covered the Mogul empire as distinct from the rest of India. These Jesuit missionaries left many complete records, some of which, either in the Vatican or in the libraries of European monasteries, still await the Orientalist and collator. Together with the exhaustive history left us by Akbar's Secretary of State, Abu-l Fazl, to say nothing of minor Mohammedan annalists and the crudities of early European travellers like Coryate, the Jesuit letters furnish a reliable mass of material. Mr. Smith is thus fortunate in being able to avail himself of the long-lost "Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius" (1582) of Father Monserrate, which recently came to light in Calcutta: Monserrate was a favorite with the Emperor, and was for some time tutor to Akbar's sons.

In a study of Akbar, to whom Elizabeth in 1583 sent one John Newbery with a letter, addressing the Mogul as "the most invincible and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya," the historian and student come upon a rewarding personality. Akbar was a descendant of Tamerlane, and on his mother's side of Chingiz Khan, combining in his proximate ancestors "three distinct non-Indian strains . . . namely, the Turk or Turkī, the Mongol or Mogul, and the Persian or Iranian strains." Of the long list of India's rulers, if we exclude the incomparable but legendary Asoka, for whose obscure story we are also indebted to Mr. Smith, Akbar may be said to have earned his surname of "the Good." He conspicuously lacked the fanaticism of the Indian Moslem ruler. To his court were welcomed the exponent of every religion: Sunni and Shiah may well have forgot their differences in the presence of the Hindu, Jain, Zoroastrian, and Christian that assembled to explain their respective creeds at the seances in the famous "House of Worship" erected by their quondam Musalmān ruler. Quite the most interesting chapters are those devoted by Mr. Smith to tracing Akbar's lapse from Islam until he felt himself strong enough to risk criticism and promulgate his eclectic *Dīn Ilāhī* or "Divine Faith": it "inculcated monotheism with a tinge of pantheism . . . the adoration of the sun, with subsidiary veneration of fire and artificial lights," while a Jain influence is shown in "the partial prohibition of animal food." What was most shattering to Akbar's Islamic subjects was his solemn proclamation of himself as vicegerent. While the new religion was foredoomed to failure, it was characteristic of the strong religious and mystical bent of Akbar.

His character, however, had its contradictions. He was obsessed by the idea of conquest, often indulging in aggression in order to extend his dominions. Whether or not this desire was secretly fed by the knowledge that his

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father Humāyūn almost lost India to the dynasty, and that he himself was born during their brief exile, Abu-l Fazl does not enlighten us. Akbar was frequently guilty of cruelty, though the sentence was usually executed before his gust of passion had passed. On the other hand, his tolerance of rebels and his forbearance of his refractory heir were conspicuous. There is, however, a modern ring to one of his "Happy Sayings" so sedulously recorded by Abu-l Fazl: "A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbors rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent." Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Terry, likened him to a great pike in a pond, though the Ambassador, sent by James I to Akbar's successor, summed him up as "a Prince by nature just and good." It should be remembered that he was the first Moslem autocrat to insist upon recognizing the eligibility of Hindus to posts of importance, who first raised the offensive poll-tax on non-Moslems, and who disapproved of the practice of *suttee* by Hindu widows.

Mr. Smith's chapters on the institutions of Akbar, the social and economic condition of his empire, and the state of art and literature under so catholic a monarch, help to round out what must have been a labor of love. Suffice to note that Akbar's system of land revenue and assessments survives, in many respects intact, under the British to-day. His grandfather Bābur, founder of the dynasty, and Akbar's father Humāyūn felt their conquests of too precarious a nature for evolving systems of administration outside the rough and ready demands imposed by an exacting invader. Stanley Lane-Poole describes Bābur as "the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar." It was Akbar's genius and energy, as well as his breadth of vision, that brought into his service the best talent, Moslem or Hindu, that bequeathed to India a system of law and order; while it was the narrowness and bigotry of his great-grandson Aurangzēb that wrought havoc with these institutions and paved the way for the dissolution of the Mogul dynasty. In conclusion, we must refer to the romantic seclusion of the Hindu poet Tulsī Dās, of Benares, called by Mr. Smith "the greatest man of his age." Although the author of the "Rāmāyan" was a friend of Rājā Mān Singh, Akbar's greatest non-Moslem noble, yet it seems strange that the work of Tulsī Dās was not brought to the notice of the pro-Hindu Pādshāh at Agra, where other Hindu singers basked in the royal favor. It is certain that the author of one of the three quatrains translated by Mr. Smith, entitled "The Tortured Heart," would have appealed to the mystical Akbar:

> In time of drought the scorching earth finds rest
> By cracking; but within my burning breast
> The tortured heart, enduring ceaseless grief,
> Cracks not, while God's decree forbids relief.

Contributors to this Issue

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The Income Tax

Income Tax Law and Accounting, 1918. By Godfrey N. Nelson. Second edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Income Tax Procedure, 1918. By Robert H. Montgomery. New York: The Ronald Press Company. $4.

THE income tax law forces the American taxpayer to grapple with a set of unfamiliar ideas. Americans are accustomed to rate or express a man's wealth by the assumed selling value of his property, seldom by his income. In dealing with the income tax we are thus at a disadvantage compared with our English cousins, who normally think of property values in terms of annual income or yield. Perhaps the time has arrived when the ripening of our economic resources and the consequent stabilizing of property earnings will make it convenient to adopt the English mode of expression. Then the income tax will be easier for us to understand. Meanwhile we, as a people, have much to learn about rating our incomes.

Mr. Nelson and Mr. Montgomery are only two of the legion of writers who have hastened to enlighten the American taxpayer as to the meaning of income for purposes of the new tax law, and as to his duty in furnishing the required reports. One reason for these books was the failure of Congress, in the press of war legislation, to codify the various income tax acts. The act of October 3, 1917, cannot be fully understood without reference to and a mastery of the act of September 8, 1916, and that in turn carries back to the act of March 1, 1913, while in part one must also take account of the corporation excise tax law of 1909. It is a real service, therefore, to offer in a single volume, as is done in each of these books, a full statement of the law as it now stands.

Congress itself, struggling to express the unfamiliar notions of what constitutes income, inserted in the law a mass of definitions. But despite its commendable diligence in this respect, the application of these definitions to the varying features of different kinds of business has required executive interpretation. The rulings of the Treasury Department on points which came before it are numerous, and since the points came up and the rulings were made in no logical sequence, it was difficult to keep track of the published rulings until their codification in the spring of 1918. These books thus perform another service in correlating each ruling with that part of the law to which it applies.

The third service which these two books perform for the taxpayer is far more important. In preparing his own "return," the taxpayer generally finds that it is the interpretation of his own accounts that gives him the most worry. The law he can easily read. But the law and the rulings were written for the average business enterprise and the average individual. An average covers a multitude of differences. How to apply the law to my business is not always easy to determine. Here is where these books are valuable.

Both authors are members of the bar, both are certified public accountants, and both approach their problems from the point of view of the accountant. For the great run of taxpayers this should prove the most helpful point of view. Both books deal with a multitude of details as well as general principles. Both cover, besides the income tax, the excess profits tax and the capital stock tax, Mr. Nelson's

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ling, as well, the estate (inheritance) tax, all the mis-
eous Federal war taxes, and the New York State in-
tax on manufacturing and mercantile corporations.
have a complete and excellent index, so that the search-
r any desired information can find it readily.
. Nelson states the law and its application clearly and
, without personal bias. Mr. Montgomery, in sharp
ast, shows a militant spirit, contending, often with
for his own pet ideas. Occasionally his temper be-
him into undignified criticism of the law, of Congress,
of the department, notably in the preface. In justice
asten to add that his bias does not lead him to confuse
y way the actual provisions of the law. But he lets
portunity slip to argue for the amendment of the law.
neral, he contends for a tax on regularly accruing in-
after the type of the British income tax. Yet it might
ld that our type of a tax, namely, one on realized mon-
ofits and income, is more adapted to the less stabilized
itions of American economic life.

Notes

HE following volumes will be published this month by Henry Holt & Company: "You're Only Young Once," Margaret Widdemer; "Strayed Revellers," by Allan graff; "Old Road to Paradise," by Margaret Widde- "The Dogs of Baytown," by Walter A. Dyer.

fred A. Knopf announces for publication in September War Workers," by E. M. Delafield.

'rom Baseball to Boches," by H. C. Witwer, and "Jame- by Ethel Sidgwick, are announced for publication by l, Maynard & Company.

the near future E. P. Dutton & Company will publish: 'illage in Picardy," by Ruth Gaines; "The Kingdom of Child," by Alice M. H. Heniger; "The Fabric of ms," by Katherine Taylor Craig.

N excellent final volume, characteristic of its author—the biographer of Newman and former editor of the *in Review*—is "The Last Lectures of Wilfrid Ward" gmans, Green; $4 net). The greater part of the book ken up with the Lowell Lectures on Cardinal Newman, is frankly a criticism of popular misconceptions. Mr. l takes the liberty—not granted a biographer—of dis- ng only the greatness of his master. "This greatness," ays, "lay in the passionate concentration of many and d gifts on one great enterprise," namely, "the preser- n of religion against the rising tide of skepticism and elity." These are interesting, though by no means star- essays on Newman's style, the unity of his work, and hilosophy. The last mentioned is the most suggestive. great effort is needed," says Mr. Ward, "to find New- s contributions to philosophy. . . . Passages will garded . . . as a special pleading for Rome which ain in reality a subtle and candid analysis of the human l, or a dispassionate survey of the forces at work in ry." Newman's philosophy was determined by a reali- n that "the rising philosophy of skepticism called for ing philosophy of faith suitable to the times." In view ese statements, it is difficult to credit the claims for or and dispassionateness made for Newman. That he loped a Bergsonian pragmatism forty years before r Bergson or James is open to serious doubt. His in- tuition and pragmatic twist seem to be restatements of the scholastic "divine revelation" rather than independent observations. The chapters on Character Study in Biography and Fiction and The War Spirit and Christianity promise much, but give surprisingly little. Mr. Ward seems to be at his best when picturing character, and the anecdotes in character study help to lighten the heavy sincerity of the book. The "Last Lectures" are characteristic of Mr. Ward at his best when he is charming, and at his worst when he is dull.

A THOUGHTFUL and interesting example of Catholic scholarship is "The Riddles of Hamlet and the Newest Answers," by Simon A. Blackmore (Boston: Stratford; $2), its general thesis making Hamlet's strong religious nature the keynote of his conduct and of the play. Arguments subsidiary but hardly less emphasized make both Hamlet and Shakespeare devout Catholics. That Hamlet was religious in the broad spiritual sense, no critic could question; that he thought in terms of Catholic Christianity when dealing with religious customs, need be as little questioned, although his nature was perhaps too speculative for complete surrender to any closely defined creed. Moreover, Catholicism was the natural religious background of his age, and in this regard Shakespeare evidently kept the play as he found its source. That Hamlet's attitude, or the play as a whole, shows Shakespeare to have been a Catholic is a view which must give us pause in the face of known facts in Shakespeare's life and of the history of the times, although he still perennially proves himself all things to all men. Inaccuracies of the minor sort, growing out of a defective knowledge of stage history, are the statements that Phillips was manager of Shakespeare's company, that the Children of the Chapel played in public theatres, and that "his own copy" of the play "Hamlet" directed the ghost to extend his arms in the form of a cross.

"THE Springfield children," says Octavia Roberts in the preface to her "Lincoln in Illinois" (Houghton Mifflin; $5 net), "learned to know Lincoln, therefore, from the stories of his neighbors and through his associations with various places, long before they knew him from the histories. It was, I remember, with a feeling of surprise that I came upon his name in books." She offers an account, largely drawn from the memories of old people, of Lincoln as a neighbor from the time in March, 1832, when he piloted the Talisman on its futile voyage from Beardstown to Springfield, until his departure for Washington in February, 1861, with a final chapter on his funeral. A good many of the facts appear for the first time, but the genuine freshness of the book comes less from the novelty of its material than from the very precise and local point of view, excellently exemplified in the case of the old lady who remembered that Mary Todd's début in Springfield society, "in a dashing costume of white bobbinet with black velvet sash and tie," had occurred on the same evening as the appearance of Springfield's first pyramid cake. Lincoln was not invited, we learn, to the ball which celebrated the arrival of the Talisman; and it took him, even in that simple world, several years to master such genteel conventions as he cared to observe. At one of his first evening parties he did not know enough, or forgot, or neglected to take off his hat in the presence of the company. Even after his marriage to a woman of so much greater social experience than his own, he remained

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notoriously the despair of his wife, one of whose servants, a Portuguese girl, later said of him: "Mr. Lincoln no verra style. He just common, like some one that is poor." Very pleasantly the new book sets forth its graceful pictures of the now vanished community of New Salem, of the public square and muddy lanes of Springfield, of the houses of Robert Irwin and Major Stuart and Judge Logan and John Owsley, where Lincoln visited, and especially of the mid-Victorian mansion of Ninian Edwards, where Lincoln and Douglas courted Mary Todd, their hostess's sister, and where Lincoln married her; pictures of Lincoln's own house, bought for twelve hundred dollars and a vacant lot from the minister who performed the marriage ceremony; of the old State House, where Lincoln debated with Douglas over the Nebraska bill, where he was defeated as candidate for the Senate, where he uttered the famous house-divided-against-itself speech, where he received congratulations upon his nomination for the Presidency, and where finally he lay awaiting burial. The printers of Springfield had refused to bring out the Lincoln-Douglas debates on the ground that such a book would not sell, but the little town awoke to its glory after the nomination, and Lincoln's last days there were full of triumph and excitement, receptions, processions, painted banners, noisy bands, and bad campaign poetry. Those were the heroic days of Springfield, and this account does justice to them, as likewise to the funeral, which is here seen in part through the eyes of Edmund Beal, a boy from Alton who helped decorate the Capitol and the tomb, who climbed out on the roof of the Lincoln house to let down the black streamers with which it was draped, and who was allowed to keep as a souvenir Lincoln's two-foot rule employed in the task. In these concluding pages the narrative, earlier a little thin and scanty, achieves real dignity and elevation. The book is issued in a handsome, tall, large-paper edition of one thousand copies, and contains twenty-five drawings by Lester G. Hornby, which would alone make it memorable and delectable.

ANOTHER stone is fitted into the remarkable fabric of Iowa history which Benjamin F. Shambaugh, as superintendent and editor of the Iowa State Historical Society, is building, by the publication of a "History of Economic Legislation in Iowa," written by Ivan L. Pollock (The State Historical Society of Iowa). The book is simply and purely what its title indicates, falling far short of an economic history of the State. It, and other monographs already published by the Society upon social legislation, labor legislation, taxation, road legislation, and work indemnity laws, will help pave the road for the economic history that should some day appear. Mr. Pollock has lucidly outlined the course of Iowa law-making upon transportation, agriculture and stock-raising, mining, banking, insurance, trade and commerce, and related topics. He is able to put the gist of a law in a few sentences, and he expends sufficient attention upon the situation which evoked it. The volume should be of value to the lawyers and legislators, not only of Iowa, but of other States where conditions approximate Iowa's.

TECHNICAL books for the real soldier continue to increase in number. The volume on "Offensive Fighting," by Major Donald M. McRae (Lippincott; $2 net), has two chapters devoted to infantry in attack and in the defensive trench; but its main purpose and great value is as a handbook for the Scout Leader or the Intelligence Officer. It tells how to conduct those interesting patrols in No Man's Lar how to control the snipers, and how to arrange for contin ous observation and the securing of information concer ing the enemy. It collects in a little space all the essentia and sets them forth in true military style, clearly and brie ly. The "Handbook of Northern France," by William Mc ris Davis (Harvard University Press; $1), is of value officers going abroad, and to any officers interested in ge ogy, topography, reconnaissance, and the effects of terra on strategy and tactics. Combined with Johnson's "Topo raphy and Strategy in the War" it fills all needs on the su ject. Captain Bertram Smith's book on "Bombs and Ha Grenades" (Dutton; $2 net) is a compilation, in a sm space, of line drawings, descriptions, and instructions f the use of all the bombs and hand grenades now in use the British, French, and German forces. No more comple handbook on the subject has been published.

IT is a pity that Mr. Horace Perry should have wast time, energy, and money in writing his ideas on "T Theories of Energy" ($1.75 net), and it is extraordina that Messrs. Putnam's Sons were willing to publish t book. Mr. Perry has, he tells us, been studying the natu of energy for more than twenty years. He is confident th he knows the subject and he believes that, in this book, has been explicit and concise. Perhaps he does know, but, he does, no one else will ever be able to decide, because one can understand Mr. Perry's language or ideas. T best way to let the prospective reader see whether he wish to be a disciple of Mr. Perry is to quote any short passag We may take as an example his description of chemic action:

> As soon as certain numbers of atoms of the different kin combine, their energies become so modified, through modific tion of their energitias by reciprocal energizement, that the fr atoms of the same kinds which are present are not energizab attractively by the energy of the combined atoms, and the ene gizabilities of the combined atoms become so modified, throu reciprocal energizement, that they are no longer energizab attractively by the energy of the free atoms, so that, under t conditions, there is no such reciprocal energizement between t combined atoms and the free atoms as would bring them in combination.

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Drama

Studies in Stagecraft

THAT play-writing needs encouragement may well be doubted; but that playwrights may be the better for being taught the technique of their art must be conceded. Three recent volumes of one-act plays are valuable primarily as studies in modern stagecraft, although two or three of the plays are so original and well written as to merit recognition on their own account.

Distinctly educational in purpose and plan are the two volumes of "Harvard Plays," edited by Professor George P. Baker and issued in two uniform chaste, gray volumes (New York: Brentano). Those who, with Aretine's Antonia, had rather hear a discourse than see a play will find both profit and pleasure in reading Mr. Baker's introductions to the "Plays of the Harvard Dramatic Club" and to the "Plays of the 47 Workshop"; and though it may sound ungracious to say so, they will perhaps find the discourses more engrossing than the plays. A good play needs no prologue as good wine needs no bush, and Mr. Baker, wisely refraining from praising these products of his admirable instruction, tells the story of Harvard's experiments in the dramatic field and of the ten years' life of the Harvard Dramatic Club, with many invaluable suggestions on ideals and methods of play-production.

"The 47 Workshop," taking its name from the course in play-writing at Harvard, English 47, perhaps provides a more interesting and useful laboratory for professional experiments than any amateur club offers. The plays written by the students in their course are here submitted to the test of actual stage production, while at times interesting examples of early stagecraft such as "Maître Pathelin" and the "Revesby Sword Play" offer variety. Mr. Baker gives a minute account of the methods of staging and financing plays that have been developed since the Workshop was founded in 1912, with details as to rehearsals; the coöperation between author, director, and company; the achievements of the artistic director; and the development of intelligently critical audiences. Training in playwriting, acting, stage directing, lighting, designing, decorating, even criticism—all the arts connected with the stage, in short—is thus acquired by the students in the Workshop.

Mr. Baker gratefully acknowledges the inspiration given to the Harvard theatre and to many others by the Abbey Theatre of Dublin, and he shows how the good seed planted by Mr. Yeats and Lady Gregory in a far country has borne fruit in many similar organizations in the United States. He feels that by developing, in experimental theatres, a body of young playwrights, actors, and managers with ideals, technical knowledge, and the general cultivation that exists among the managers of the best Continental theatres, the professional theatre in America will be greatly influenced. No one who believes in the future of the American stage and who cherishes the art of the theatre can fail to be interested in this illuminating discussion.

In noting what has been accomplished by the productions of the Harvard Dramatic Club, Mr. Baker cites "The Clod" as an example of a one-act play that later reached the professional stage through the Washington Square Players. It may be said at once that none of the plays in the present volume approaches that little study in originality and effectiveness. "The Bank Account," by Howard Brock, by all odds the most interesting in theme of the four, gives a realistic picture of that increasing class of Americans—the shabby "flat-dwellers" of our great cities—with its idle women, obsessed with clothes and "movies," and its drudging men, cogs in the machine of sordid business. The little play, ruthless in its character drawing and gripping in its suspense, is yet not quite successful because not wholly convincing. "The Florist Shop," by Winifred Hawkridge, offers some good characterizations, especially that of the too sympathetic bookkeeper Maude, but the plot and conclusion are irritatingly sentimentalized. "America Passes By," by Kenneth Andrews, with its glorification of the happy, vulgar America that follows every passing fashion, is true enough to the soil—or rather, to the pavements—of any American city; but the underlying idea that the love born of propinquity may be killed by a change of *milieu* is developed less in action than in talk. "The Rescue," by Rita Creighton Smith, a rather morbid and self-conscious sketch, turning on the theme that there is nothing good or bad but thinking makes it so, is obtrusively didactic.

The "Plays of the 47 Workshop" include the ironic playlet "The Good Men Do," called by its author, Hubert Osborne, "an indecorous epilogue," since it treats of the wrangling and jangling of Shakespeare's family at his deathbed. This clever and cynical comedy proved sufficiently amusing to achieve a professional production at the Actors' and Authors' Theatre in New York in the early summer. "Three Pills in a Bottle," by Rachel Lyman Field, an appealing fantasy turning on the difference in human beings between the inner spirit and the outward form, has poetic charm rather than dramatic quality. Eugene Pillot's "Two Crooks and a Lady," begins excellently with the suspense well sustained; but the characters are theatric, and the contrast between the *grande dame* and the *canaille* that she scorns is forced. There is a spiritual snobbishness here that is far from agreeable, just as spiritual and intellectual snobbishness mar the trivial and rather foolish farce, "Free Speech," in which William L. Prosser satirizes the Bolsheviki.

In the Middle West a group of non-professional men and women known as the Wisconsin Players have for seven seasons been working to express the character and quality of their people and their country. Their workshop is the Playhouse in Milwaukee, where they produce plays written by members of the society, as well as plays from foreign sources, and design and execute stage settings and costumes. This experimental theatre has developed original talent among its writers, and one volume of plays was published in 1917; now the second series of "Wisconsin Plays" (Huebsch; $1.50) is at hand with four one-act plays. "The Feast of the Holy Innocents," by S. Marshall Ilsley, a study in temperaments, is distinguished for realistic detail rather than for dramatic quality; "On the Pier," by Laura Sherry, is an unconvincing and exaggerated sketch of a young boy and a young girl, both ready to commit suicide, who prevail on each other to "take a chance" at life once more; "The Shadow," by Howard Mumford Jones, an allegory on love and disillusionment, offers rare bits of poetry, but no drama; "We Live Again," by Thornton Gilman, showing the contrast between formal piety and true Christianity, is marred by melodramatic exaggeration. All of these little plays suffer from an excess of the didactic and a lack of the dramatic, and quite fail to give individuality to their material.

M. C. D.

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Finance

The Proposed Loan to China

HOW wide a departure from earlier policy is implied in the Government's approval of the proposed loan of possibly $50,000,000 to China by an American banking group is a question on which the announcement recently made by the State Department throws little direct light. It will be recalled that the new Democratic Administration, early in 1913, declined to support American participation in the projected "Six-Power Loan" to the Chinese Republic. President Wilson's statement on that occasion, setting forth his belief that the terms of the loan "touch very nearly the administrative independence of China," was one of the first of the state papers from which it was possible to judge the pitch and pith of the President's attitude towards foreign nations, and especially towards those "backward" or weak nations with which so large a part of his policy has since been concerned.

The loan proposal from which, in 1913, American bankers withdrew, probably with no great regret, was in fact of a sort which smacked strongly of the old diplomacy and the old finance. The Chinese salt tax, purely an internal levy, was to be pledged as security; its administration was to be reorganized under foreign auspices, and if this proved unsatisfactory, representatives of the lending Powers might assume entire control of the tax—an arrangement which plainly suggested complications for the Governments of the creditor-bankers.

When the Americans withdrew, financial London professed to see danger of an upset to a delicately adjusted balance of power in the Far East, with a possible grabbing of land or concessions by the remaining five Powers as a consequence. The political aspect of the whole affair was reflected in the complaint of the London *Statist*, that "it is absurd that the loan should be participated in by a number of countries which are not in a position to lend, and which, even if they were in a position to lend, would not select China as the best party to lend to."

From the position then taken, our State Department has now receded to a degree which can only be fully known when a practical definition is applied to its promise "to make prompt and vigorous representations and to take every possible step" to insure the execution of the loan contract. As on the former occasion, American bankers have taken a loan under consideration at the request of the Government itself; but in the present instance the suggestion carried the weight of war-time necessity and could scarcely be disregarded when the whole mechanism of the nation's finance is under the moral if not the physical control of the Washington authorities for the prosecution of the war.

Without this sort of influence, it may be doubted whether the proposal would have met with an enthusiastic reception, lacking the pledge of some specific security, and carrying with it the proviso that the bankers will be guided throughout by "the policies outlined by the Department of State." Even England and France, before we entered the war, had to put up collateral to insure the success of their loans in the American market. As the matter stands, the State Department's announcement leaves it far from clear whether the transaction is to be regarded as an out-and-out war measure, or as partially that and partially a loan from which we, as belligerents, can expect no benefits. The point has b made that if the loan is dictated by war necessity, the G ernment was free to follow its policy of making a direct vance from the national Treasury, as is being done on half of our European allies, without calling in the aid private financial interests. S. P. HARMA

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Cruikshank, A. B. The True Character of Hamlet. Knicl bocker Press.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Terry, J. E. H. General Post. Dutton. $1.50 net.

FICTION

Johnson, O. Virtuous Wives. Little, Brown. $1.50 net.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Robertson, W. S. Rise of the Spanish-American Republ Appleton. $3 net.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Andrews, R. C. and Y. B. Camps and Trails in China. Ap ton. $3 net.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Benn, E. J. P. The Trade of To-morrow. Dutton. $1.50 ne
Bradley, H. The Enclosures in England. Columbia Univer Studies in Political Science. Volume LXXX, No. 2. Lo mans, Green. $1.25.
Capes, W. P., and Carpenter, J. R. Municipal Housecleani Dutton. $6 net.
Hale, R. L. Valuation and Rate-Making. Columbia Univer Studies in Political Science, Volume LXXX, No. 1. Lo mans, Green. $1.50.
Koren, J. The History of Statistics. Macmillan. $7.50.

NATURAL SCIENCE

Hrdlicka, A. Recent Discoveries Attributed to Early Man America. Washington: Government Printing Office.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Gurney, E., Myers, F. W. H., and Podmore, F. Phantasms the Living. Abridged edition prepared by Mrs. H. Sidgw Dutton. $7 net.
Sheldon, H. C. The Mystery Religions and the New Testam Abingdon Press.
Steinhaeuser, A. T. W. Luther Primer. Columbia, S. C.: S vey Publishing Co. 75 cents.

EDUCATION

Franklin, W. S., and MacNutt, B. A Calendar of Leading periments. South Bethlehem, Pa.: Franklin, MacNutt Charles. $2.50.
Freese, J. H. A Polish Manual. Dutton. $1.25 net.

THE WAR

Belton, J., and Odell, E. G. Hunting the Hun. Appleton. $ net.
Doyle, A. C. A History of the Great War. Volume III. Do $2 net.
George, D. L. The Great Crusade. Doran. $1.50 net.
Lauzanne, S. Fighting France. Appleton. $1.50 net.
Nasmith, G. G. On the Fringe of the Great Fight. Do $1.50 net.
Oxenham, J. High Altars. Doran. 50 cents net.

MISCELLANEOUS

Henderson, W. J. Elements of Navigation. Harper. $1.25
Mary Elizabeth. War Time Recipes. Stokes. $1.25 net.

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Summary of the News

GEN. FOCH'S great counter-offensive, begun on July 18, has been proceeding successfully without appreciable delay or hindrance, so that now, on August 5, the hard-pressed enemy has been driven back beyond the Aisne River between Soissons and Venizel. On the German left flank the Franco-American forces have advanced beyond the Vesle River, and have occupied Fismes, the chief German base on the Vesle. On the Avre the enemy has retreated on a front of about ten miles between Montdidier and Moreuil, and the French now hold the west bank of the river. The German resistance is weakening on its right wing, but is growing more stubborn on the left wing, where the enemy still have a foothold on the Vesle northwest of Rheims. The number of prisoners captured by the Allies between August 2 and 4 has not been announced, but is said to be very large.

IN our last report the account of the Allied advance had been carried through July 29. On July 30 the French and Americans advanced two miles in the region of Fère-en-Tardenois, in the face of heavy counter-attacks by the enemy. On July 31 a lull occurred in the infantry fighting, while a duel of heavy artillery took place along the whole Marne front. On August 1 the Germans continued their retreat between Soissons and Fère-en-Tardenois, and on August 2 French troops not only entered Soissons, but regained a strip of territory to the southeast of the city, advancing from three to five miles. On August 3 the Allies swept on successfully between Soissons and Rheims, capturing almost the entire Aisne-Vesle front, advancing about six miles at some points, and occupying more than fifty villages. On August 4 the enemy defence was broken through, his base at Fismes was lost, and his retreat was rendered more difficult by rains that filled the roads with mud and impeded the transport of his guns. Foch's advance has thus far proved the greatest success of the Allies since the first battle of the Marne and Verdun. The American forces engaged have since July 18 covered a greater distance than any soldiers except the Germans, for the distance from the line of Château-Thierry to Fismes is about forty kilometres.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S policy for aiding Russia was officially announced on August 3 by the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Frank L. Polk. Its chief features are:

(1.) That the United States and Japan each send a force of "a few thousand men" to occupy Vladivostok and safeguard the country in the rear of the Czecho-Slovaks as they move westward through Siberia towards European Russia.

(2.) That the United States will continue to coöperate with Great Britain and France in the region of Murmansk and Archangel, where armed forces of these three nations are now guarding ports to prevent their use by Germany.

(3.) That the Governments of the United States and Japan assure the people of Russia that they do not intend to interfere with the political sovereignty of Russia or impair Russia's territorial integrity, and that their object is to aid the Russian people to "regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny."

(4.) That the United States will send to Siberia a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, and others to render help and relieve the economic necessities of the Russian people.

Japan will coöperate at once in this course of action, and Great Britain, France, and Italy have assented "in principle," although it is added that no conclusion arrived at by the Government of the United States is intended "as an effort to restrict the actions or interfere with the independent judgment of the Governments with which we are now associated in the war." A final hope is expressed that these Governments will "lend their active aid in the execution of these military and economic plans" wherever necessary or possible.

JAPAN on August 2 officially announced that troops had been dispatched to Vladivostok to aid the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia. In reaffirming its "avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal policies," the Japanese Government declared that all Japanese troops will be withdrawn from Russian territory as soon as the objects of the present mission have been realized.

CZECHO-SLOVAK forces in Siberia, numbering about 15,000, now occupy Vladivostok, while another force in European Russia holds the Volga River from Kazan to Samara, a distance of about 200 miles. They thus control the transportation of grain from southeastern Russia as well as the exportation of grain and cotton from central Asia by way of the Turkestan Railroad. By their control of the Petrograd branch of the Siberian Railroad they have kept the Germans from obtaining platinum from the Ural mines; and by their command of the Siberian Railroad itself, from the mountains to Lake Baikal, they have access to the agricultural products of this fertile region. If contact between the Czecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok and the main body of their army can be established now, these forces will be in a position to prevent the transportation of supplies to Moscow and Petrograd and to render the situation of the Bolsheviki more difficult.

THE embassies of the Allies in Russia have become involved in a difficult situation with the Soviet Government. When, at the request of the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, they left Vologda on July 25 because it was about to be bombarded, they were urged to go to Moscow. Instead they proceeded to Archangel, where the Soviets refused to allow them to remain; and on July 28, in two ships supplied by the Russian Government, they sailed across the White Sea to Kandalaska. A message from Ambassador Francis to Washington, dated July 31, reports that he, with the Italian Ambassador, the British representative, and the French *Chargé d'Affaires*, had arrived in Murmansk, while the other chiefs of the diplomatic corps were awaiting instructions from their Governments at Kandalaska.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON EICHHORN, the German military commander in the Ukraine, and Capt. von Dressler, his adjutant, were killed on July 30 in Kiev by a bomb thrown at them while driving. The crime is laid to the Social Revolutionists at Moscow, who were also responsible for the assassination of Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia. Dr. Karl Helfferich, the new Ambassador, has sent a note to Foreign Minister Trotzky calling on the Soviet Government to adopt stern measures against the persons guilty of the crime. Apparently the agitation against German dominance in Russia is increasing in the Ukraine as well as in the north.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, in addressing a deputation of members of the National Union of Manufacturers in London on July 31, declared that the longer the war lasts the sterner would be the economic terms imposed on the foe, thus implying that a commercial war will follow the war. He urged an agreement among the Allies so that the economic fate of the world should be in the hands of the Powers which are at present acting together. In discussing commercial problems to be met after the war, the Premier further said that the questions of raw materials and transport would be exceedingly difficult to solve and would require complete understanding between Great Britain, the Dominions, and the Allies. He emphasized that, as a result of the war, the principle had been established for the present British Government "that we are one empire," and that there shall be trade preference within the empire.

PEACE discussions were again urged in a letter by Lord Lansdowne that was read at a conference of his supporters in London on July 31. After showing that the civilized world is being drained of its resources and dwelling on the tragic loss of life—which has been estimated at 7,000,000—and on the declining birth rate, Lord Lansdowne declared that the desire for peace is widespread, but that instead of searching for points of agreement, representatives of the belligerents had merely indulged in recriminations and controversies. He urged that the moment when the Allies are proving their ability to hold their own in the world-wide struggle is more opportune than any other for considering reasonable proposals.

THE French Socialist Party at the national congress in Paris on July 29 declared against any intervention by the Allies in Russia and voted "under no pretexts to favor projects of a Russian counter-revolution." A resolution was adopted demanding that the French Government revise its war aims, denounce imperialistic aspirations, and establish its peace terms on the basis defined by President Wilson. The resolution further demanded that preliminary negotiations for a League of Nations be commenced at once, and declared that the party favors a reunion of the Internationalist Socialist Congress and is ready to accept the invitation of the Belgian, Dutch, and Swedish Socialist leaders for a meeting of Socialists at Berne.

LOANS to the Allies to the amount of $6,492,040,000 had been made by the Government of the United States up to the end of July. The Treasury is advancing credit to the Allies at the rate of about $10,000,000 a day. The total disbursements for July reached the new high record of $1,608,282,000, including $1,259,000,000 for ordinary Government war expenses and $343,000,000 in loans to the Allies.

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